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- ART. I.—I. *The Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians, Galatians, and Romans, with Critical Notes and Dissertations.* By the REV. BENJAMIN JOWETT, M.A., Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Oxford. Second Edition. Murray. 1859.
2. *The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in the original Greek, with Notes.* By CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D.D., Canon of Westminster. Part III. *St. Paul's Epistles.* Rivingtons. 1859.

AMONG the many good fruits of modern biblical research, it may be reckoned as not the least, that the chronology of the life and labours of the Apostle Paul has begun to assume a more definite and settled character. This is more especially the case with regard to the term of his public labours in the service of the Gospel, the period of his missionary journeys, his visitations of the Churches, and his Epistles. It is true that darkness, or rather obscurity, rests upon the beginning and the end of St. Paul's course; it emerges from comparative uncertainty, and it goes out in comparative uncertainty: but, from the time of his introduction by Barnabas to the Christian society down to the end of his first Roman imprisonment, the New-Testament narrative scarcely ever loses sight of him; the dates and scenes of his labours and the occasions and results of his writings are traced with most minute fidelity. Nor are the blanks at the outset and the end hopelessly dark: the former has been

filled up to the satisfaction of almost all unbiassed inquirers; and the latter—namely, the period between the point at which the Acts of the Apostles leave him, and his death—has been supplied by a chapter of personal history so probable in itself, and so thoroughly supported by all the evidence which the subject admits, that in England at least its details encounter now but little doubt. In fact, the noble sketch of Conybeare and Howson may be regarded as all but universally accepted in this country. When further research shall have cleared up a few remaining difficulties, it will be our privilege to boast that the most important merely human life ever spent upon the earth is also the best known.

To be able to follow the course, and mark the development, and trace the issues of such a career, is of itself no small blessing. But the importance of a thorough systematical chronological study of the life and writings of St. Paul can hardly be overrated: the process of his missionary work is one with the process of the evolution of the mystery of the Gospel; and the history of his labours sheds light upon his writings, and receives light from them, at a thousand points. It may be said that there is hardly a critical period in his life, or a critical difficulty in his Epistles, which may not be far better understood, as the result of a faithful collation of the documents with the occasion which gave birth to the documents.

All this is too generally admitted to require any further substantiation. But, among those who admit the principle, two opposite extreme views have been entertained; and it will suit our present purpose to regard the one as represented by Canon Wordsworth, and the other by Professor Jowett.

The Preface to Wordsworth's edition of St. Paul's Epistles carries its application to a very great and very exceptionable length. One of the most important distinctive features of his very valuable Commentary is this, that it gives the Epistles in their chronological order, and makes the chronological element everywhere subserve to the interpretation. But his vindication of his arrangement—which, however, as an arrangement, needed no vindication at all—does a good cause disservice by its tone of exaggeration. He nobly asserts the truth that St. Paul wrote under the inspiration of a God of order, and that his writings were designed by the Holy Spirit to instruct the Church, and the world through the Church, in the religion of Jesus Christ, by a well-arranged system of doctrine and discipline; that his Epistles were not disjointed and fugitive essays, thrown out extemporaneously on the spur of the moment; and that, if studied in their chronological order, they would be found to



form a consistent and harmonious whole. So far every reverent disciple of inspiration must agree with him; indeed, the firm maintenance of this great truth is one of our best safeguards against the destructive criticism of the age. But, for the very reason that we are so deeply convinced of this, we demur to the assertions which follow: viz., that the study of these Epistles in the regular order of time trains us in the best method of building up ourselves and others in the Christian faith; that 'it admits us to behold the great Apostolic Architect in his spiritual workshop, as it were with rule and compass in hand, drawing the plan of his apostolic work, and then laying its foundations deep and strong, and placing the first stone of the sacred edifice, and gradually rearing the fabric, which rises silently and securely, without noise of axe or hammer, like the temple of Solomon, till it stands in stately grandeur before the delighted eye, a glorious building, complete in all its parts and proportions, and perfectly compacted, harmonized, and adorned, in solidity, symmetry, and beauty.'

As far as all this might be referred to the Divine Architect, we heartily assent. That He controlled all the workings of the apostolic mind, and made them subservient to the construction, for all times and for all ages, of a complete system of doctrine, morals, and ecclesiastical discipline; further, that He predetermined the bounds of our canonical Scriptures, and guided the pens of all the New-Testament writers, until they had jointly and collectively produced in writing for the Christian congregation all His mind and will; and, lastly, that He continued His guiding supervision over the discrimination of the early Church, until—like another Ezra—it had gathered all the true sayings of God into one, giving to man the final and consummate Scriptures, authenticated both from heaven and of man;—all this we steadfastly believe. But from anything beyond this we must recoil. We cannot think that the Apostles themselves—even St. Paul and St. John—were admitted to such perfect intimacy with the counsels of the Holy Ghost. They were most assuredly not conscious of any such systematic plan as is here attributed to the Apostle Paul. They were rather themselves, though in a very different sense and degree, in the position of their fathers of the Old Testament, 'searching what or what matter of time the Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify.' In a certain measure the words of their Lord referred to their writings as well as to their words:—it was given them in the same hour what they should write. We do not perceive any sign whatever that even St. Paul—the leading writer of the New Testament—had conceived in his mind at the outset of his

labours any system which his own successive Epistles should conform to or unfold. The evidences to which Wordsworth appeals do not sustain his position: 'the anticipation' does *not* seem to us 'fully realized by the result.' For instance, the Epistles to the Thessalonians are *not* distinctively occupied with the first principles of the doctrine of Christ; and the Epistle to the Romans is *not*, as here represented, an unsuitable commencement of the doctrinal teaching of the New Testament. In fact, we need go no further for evidence of the baselessness of the hypothesis that the Apostle Paul had in his mind a programme of his theological writings, which he by degrees wrought out as ecclesiastical emergencies arose. These two Epistles have their special purpose assigned them by the writer himself, as it were with the superscription of his own hand. In no sense whatever can they be regarded as fundamental in a system of teaching for the Church: in the forefront of the Epistles of the New Testament—that is to say, in their proper position according to the order of time—they would, according to our notion, be singularly out of place; plunging the reader at once into the depths of a controversy, than which none has been more lasting and more distracting in the whole history of the Church. Whereas, the Epistle to the Romans in every respect vindicates its right to priority. It places the reader at once in the centre of the world, between Jew and Gentile; in the very midst of a sinful race, convicted and dumb under the sentence of the law—but silenced only that the glorious tidings of redemption might be heard. It is of all the writings of St. Paul the fundamental one, and, strictly speaking, the only fundamental one. It was, in fact, no other than the great precursory exposition of his finished Gospel, which the Apostle sent to the metropolis of the whole world, to prepare his way before him as the preacher of salvation to all mankind. Hence it includes within its scope every subject and topic peculiar to the Christian revelation; and the whole is 'set forth in order,' though not in over-precise and mechanical order.—Much more might be said upon the elaborate theory propounded in Dr. Wordsworth's Preface, and reigning in its influence throughout his work; but the testimony of those two Epistles to the characteristics of which his argument especially appeals,—the double Epistle to the Thessalonians, as having a *foundation* character; and the Epistle to the Romans, as being inappropriate for the commencement of a theological system,—is altogether against his hypothesis, and renders any further refutation of it needless.

But why do we take any pains to overthrow a theory which can do us no harm, and which is constructed solely for the

defence of the faith? For many reasons. It would be enough to say, in the first place, that it is not sustained by any evidence brought from the Apostle's own writings; and, moreover, that it is not itself strictly in harmony with the spirit and laws of the New-Testament economy. But we have already hinted at a stronger ground of objection; viz., that it imposes upon the humble believer in our inspired Bible the needless burden of defending what it would be very hard to defend. We have quite enough—though not too much—to do to maintain our ground as the upholders of a doctrine which makes the Scripture an inspired whole. To have further to maintain that a mechanical and orderly system of doctrine, moral teaching, and disciplinary enactment, will be found to exist when the writings of the New Testament are restored to their perfect text and exact chronological order, is a burden too heavy for us,—a burden which the Spirit of inspiration has not imposed. Our foes are not so generous as to abstain from pressing their advantage when they see us at a loss, or when they see us in danger of overshooting our mark.

However, while we cannot accept this theory, we respect the motives of its author: in short, were it not too much like irreverence to say so, we could wish that it were sound. With very different feelings we turn to the opposite extreme, as represented by Professor Jowett; an extreme which we think may be better met, after we have shaken off the embarrassment of the former.

His notion of the chronological development of St. Paul's mind and theology, as exhibited in the process of his epistolary writings, involves errors which lead to fatal mischief, and which no reverent believer in the inspiration of the word of God can tolerate. The reader will find his theory in the Introduction to the Thessalonian Epistles; a theory which does not go so far as Baur and the rest, simply because Professor Jowett cannot, and we hope will never be able to, throw off a certain restraint which his education imposes upon him, and which gives an indescribably conflicting character to all his writings. We should quote his words, were it not that we find it impossible to do so with fairness to him and to ourselves. It is not his manner to state categorically what his convictions are; generally they are left to our inference, or glide through the current of his argument stealthily, and as it were apologetically, until the close of the whole leaves us no longer in doubt what his meaning is. It is not pleasant to deal with an adversary whose fundamental positions cannot be at once quoted from his own lips, or under the voucher of his own hand. But it is our necessity in the present case; and all we can do is to gather as faithfully as may be what

the expositor really means, and to gainsay his positions in the same desultory manner as that in which we find them laid down.

Suffice, that he regards the Apostle as having been the subject of a slow inward illumination, which was gradual down to the end of his life; as 'knowing Christ after the flesh' at so late a period as the time of the composition of the Thessalonian Epistles; as having, during the interval between those Epistles and the Epistles to the Galatians, Corinthians, and Romans, been taught to apprehend the Gospel less Judaeically and more spiritually; and then, in a yet later cluster of Epistles, written during the imprisonment at Rome, to have reached a still more serene, and cloudless, and accurate knowledge of the Gospel, to the promulgation of which his life was dedicated. The proof of all this is found in the nature of the case, St. Paul being, like every other man, led step by step to the entire abandonment of prejudices and the full comprehension of the truth; in the abundant traces of change wrought in his views which the several consecutive Epistles reveal; and in the apologetic confession which he is supposed to have made in such passages as, 'If we have known Christ after the flesh,' 'If I yet preached circumcision,' and so forth.

This theory governs all the modern Illuminist interpretation of the Pauline Epistles, and indeed is the key to all that is distinctive in the system of its exposition. But the theory is as fallacious in itself as it is destructive in its consequences. We shall consider the grounds on which it is based in our own order.

The Apostle never represents himself, nor do his writings exhibit him, as being gradually taught the truth while he is teaching the Church. In reference to some minor matters he does indeed place himself in the position of a referee considering a question, speaking not by commandment, but giving the result of the reflections of one who even then 'thinks he has the Spirit of Christ.' Those very exceptional instances, however,—if they are exceptional instances,—only confirm the absolute authority with which he always, as the very medium of the oracle of God, announces the truth as it is in Jesus, and the will of his Sovereign Master. The tone of all his Epistles, from the first opening of his epistolary commission to the Thessalonians down to the 'faithful sayings' of the Pastoral Letters, is consistent only with a consciousness of being the instrument by whom the Spirit of the Lord Christ speaks to the Churches His authoritative and final will. Before we seek to establish this, let us consider the two or three passages which Professor Jowett borrows from the Apostle's own writings, as the support of the opposite conclusion;

—passages in which St. Paul himself, so to speak, protests against his being supposed to have held to one authoritative doctrine through life, and thus himself pleads against the too profound respect of posterity for his words. We will take that passage first which this special pleader uses most cunningly,—that one which most faintly mentions St. Paul's confession of his gradual progress in the creed of the Gospel.

The Apostle speaks in the Philippian Epistle of the 'beginning of the Gospel.' Now, Professor Jowett does not—as a professed exegete—venture to say that St. Paul there meant the early, introductory, immature beginnings of his knowledge and exposition of the truth of Jesus,—the time when he used to spell out with his hearers the alphabet of Christian doctrine, and search with them what or what manner of things the perfect day of Christian revelation would declare to the Church. This he does not say: but he hints it all, and weaves the expression so gracefully into the fabric of his argument, that the unsuspecting reader must needs fall into the snare, and believe that St. Paul was looking back with his readers to early and immature days, when he thought as a child about the way of sinners' salvation. Now, let the reader go back to the beginning of the Epistle, (that to the Philippians,) and learn from its first congratulatory paragraph what St. Paul really meant by the 'beginning of the Gospel,'—the 'first day' when they heard for the first time the name of Jesus, when the foundation was laid of that great Macedonian cause which was always so dear to the Apostle, and of which he was so justly proud, when for the first time the continent of Europe was visited with the tidings of the Gospel, when the sons of Shem visited the tents of Japhet, and a 'beginning of miracles' was wrought which was to fill the world with its results, and affect the destinies of the whole race for ever,—and he will learn to value at its proper worth the graceful fallacy of the 'beginning of the Gospel.'

Another argument he finds in the well-known passage of the second Corinthian Epistle, in which the Apostle speaks of his having known Christ 'according to the flesh, but now knowing Him no more.' This is in perfect consistency interpreted as the writer's candid declaration that there was a period in his life—and in his life as an Apostle and preacher of the Gospel—when he held, and preached, and taught views concerning Christ which were rather ceremonial, Jewish, and carnal, than evangelical, spiritual, and saving. This saying is quoted again and again, as containing St. Paul's positive and undeniable declaration of his having changed the character of his preaching, as the result of his having attained to deeper

views of the nature of the believer's relation to Christ. Connected with some other passages,—to which we shall presently refer,—this supposed disclaimer and abjuration must have 'this meaning, that there was something which the Apostle had left behind him, which he had once thought, and no longer thought, to be a part of the faith of Christ.'

Professor Jowett is too accurate and too honest an expositor to make the words 'Christ after the flesh' signify 'a Christ of the Jews only,' or a Christ accommodated to the Judaizing notions of the necessity of circumcision in order to a participation in the blessings of the Gospel. He is content at first to insinuate into the passage the vague meaning of an 'approximation to Judaizing tenets.' Afterwards it appears that, in his view, this approximation consisted in the preaching of a carnal Christ as the expected ruler of a visible kingdom, a mode of preaching which lingered still in the First Epistle to the Thessalonians, but from which, 'when old things had passed away, and all things became new,' the Apostle was nearly, if not altogether, emancipated.

On one point the expositor is here certainly right. The preaching of Christ not after the flesh was, as he says, the preaching of 'death with Christ,' or, as we should prefer to say, of the fellowship of believers with Christ in His life and death, His death and life. But, was there ever a time when St. Paul preached any other doctrine of Christ than this? Had he ever, from the hour when the Son of God was 'revealed in him,' inculcated any other saving relation to Christ than that of being mystically related to Him by a living faith? Is it true that the communion of the Lord's life and death was the leading principle of the Apostle's 'later teaching only?' and that his earlier teaching was of a 'knowledge of Christ according to the flesh, which could not consort with the inward witness of such things, which in modern language might be described as unmythical and unspiritual?' Was this really what he 'imparted to his converts when he was not able to speak unto them as unto spiritual, but as fleshly, as babes in Christ?'

'Here,' says Mr. Jowett, 'the Epistle to the Thessalonians comes in to supply the deficiency,' with its 'absorbing thought,' expounded and repeated, of 'the coming of Christ.' Of this absorbing thought we shall speak hereafter. For the present, it will suffice to make an appeal to that very Epistle, and let it contradict this very bold piece of sophistry. To reach that Epistle we have to pass over the Epistle to the Galatians, in which no reasonable man would deny that the Apostle's later teaching is already found in all its glory, the fellowship of



Christ's crucifixion and resurrection-life being there expressed in a manner which savours, not of a recent revelation, but of a long-enjoyed and unutterably-blessed experience. A very few years, few enough to allow us to say months, take us from it to the Thessalonian Epistles, which are the links that connect the written with the missionary labours of the Apostle's life. And what is the key-note of that Epistle, what the very first words from the Apostle's inspired pen, but his fervent thanksgiving for the spirituality and inwardness of their religion, that they were 'in the Lord Jesus Christ,' that 'our Gospel'—that Gospel which here at the very outset of his writings he speaks of as the one unchangeable Gospel, than which he knew no other—came to them 'in the Holy Ghost'—as an internal self-demonstrated possession? This certainly does not sound like a 'knowledge of Christ' which cannot consist with the 'inward witness.' And do we not find in the very heart and centre of this Epistle the same testimony which binds into one and harmonizes all his Epistles?—"Who died for us, that, whether we wake or sleep, we should live together with Him." Now, when he is vindicating the Apostle's meaning, in the more enlightened Epistle to the Corinthians, to be that he now preached 'death with Christ,' Mr. Jowett goes on to say, with an obvious insinuation, 'And the rest of the chapter speaks of "the absence from the body, which is presence with the Lord," of "the house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens," of "Christ becoming sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him."' Such was, indeed, the beautiful harmony of the Apostle's thoughts; but is it otherwise in the earlier and less developed Epistle? Let the passage which we have last quoted be the answer; and, that Mr. Jowett may be a party to his own confutation, let us read it in the light of his own pregnant note in the Commentary:—

['Ver. 10. τοῦ ἀποθανόντος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, *who died for us.*] There is a double allusion in this verse:—First, the more general thought so often repeated in the Epistles of St. Paul, of the identification of the Christian with the Lord, "who died for us, that whether in life or death we may be with Him;" which sometimes assumes the relation of opposition, at other times of sameness, either "He died on our behalf that we may live," or "He died and rose again, that with Him also we may die and rise again." But, further, the mode of expression is coloured by what has preceded. Instead of saying, "whether in life or death we may live with Him," the Apostle says, "whether we wake or sleep, we may live with Him." He recalls what he had been saying before. "If we believe that Jesus died and rose again, then also they which *sleep* through Jesus will God bring with Him." He



died for us, that it might make no difference whether we live or die, or, as it is here expressed, that whether we are awake or asleep, at "His coming we may together live with Him."—*ἀμα* is to be taken with *ἵναμεν*, not with *ὅτε αὐτῶν*.'

Let the reader weigh well this beautiful note, not forgetting the very important criticism on the arrangement of the words at the end of it, and he will see how much the Commentary differs from the introductory disquisition; that is to say, how much sounder Professor Jowett's exegetical learning is than his theological principles. If our space allowed, we might strengthen this assertion by reference to his expositions of the other and earlier passages in the first chapter: they also would prove that he is a much sounder interpreter of Scripture when confronting the text itself, than when dealing in speculations concerning the origin of it.

But to return for a moment to this much-abused declaration of St. Paul to the Corinthians. Accepting the preliminary exposition of it which Professor Jowett gives, we see no difficulty whatever in its proper and unforced contextual interpretation. The 'henceforth' of St. Paul here marks that one great crisis which was all in all to his theology, as it was all in all to his personal experience. The whole connexion requires us to understand him as referring to the period when, as the next verse says in explanation of this verse, 'man becomes a new creature, old things passing away and all things becoming new.'

Before that time Christ, and man, and all things connected with Christ and man, were viewed carnally, according to the notions of the carnal mind and the feelings of the carnal heart; after that time Christ became transfigured, being apprehended by faith, and spiritually discerned,—man and all things sharing also in the great transfiguration. There was a time in the Apostle's life and experience when he had regarded Christ, the Christ of the hope of Judaism, with a carnal eye, and had expected Him with a carnal Jewish expectation. At that time he had looked upon men also with unpurged and bigoted eyes: upon Jewish men as the heirs of all prerogative for time and eternity, and upon Gentile men as outcasts from the covenants of promise. When the time of Christ appeared, he had rejected Him with all the abhorrence of his proud Jewish nature; and, viewing all His saints as apostates and idolaters, had persecuted them unto death. All this was now for ever past; as in himself, so in all whom he includes in the 'we' of a common Christianity. The 'now henceforth' of verse 16 is precisely the 'now henceforth' of verse 15 (let them be compared with their slight variation); the critical period marked in the one verse is,

in spite of Mr. Jowett's exposition, the same as that marked in the other. And this of itself is sufficient to refute the whole error in his application of the passage.

In a very hurried and almost furtive manner, he makes an illustrative allusion to a passage in the Epistle to the Galatians, where St. Paul, retorting their words in holy indignation upon his enemies, yet speaking to his friends, says, 'And I, brethren, if I yet preach circumcision, why do I yet suffer persecution? Then is the offence of the cross ceased.' 'These words,' says our Essayist, and it is all he ventures to say about them, 'certainly imply that St. Paul had once preached what his opponents declared to be the doctrine of the circumcision.' *That* they certainly do not imply: but if they did, Mr. Jowett cannot consistently join these opponents. For, he has elsewhere said, that such a supposition is contradictory to all that is told us of the Apostle in the Acts, and to all that he tells us of himself in the Epistles. From the first moment of his conversion he was the Apostle of the Gentiles. He could never have taught that Christ was the Christ of the Jews only, or that without circumcision there was no entering into covenant with God. 'However naturally such a meaning may be assigned to the words "Christ according to the flesh," it is so inconsistent with the whole tenor of the Apostle's life, as to compel us to adopt a different interpretation.' Why then, after writing this sober truth, does he immediately go on to say that the Corinthian passage derives confirmation from this to the Galatians? One might be almost tempted to think that, after satisfying his conscience in the former sentence, he leaves the Apostle's words, accompanied by his own vague and equivocal comment, to give a certain fallacious strength to his argument, and then hurries on.

But we must not hurry on with him. St. Paul does not in any sense whatever leave it to be implied that he had preached a doctrine which might be capable of being interpreted as a doctrine of circumcision. He is evidently inflamed with a sacred wrath against those who perversely misapplied his words, and misinterpreted his acts (and something of that wrath would surely, were he among us, be enkindled against these modern persecutors of his doctrine.) The keen satire which follows in the 'cut off' (so translated) will give any unbiassed reader the key to the interpretation of the passage. 'If my wise compliances in things left to my discretion are caricatured by my enemies into a preaching of the doctrine of circumcision, then why am I now, as I have always been, persecuted? Then, forsooth, the great stumbling-block in my preaching is gone.

Why have I been persecuted for preaching the Cross all my days, when, as these enemies insist, I have been all along preaching circumcision?" Surely, nothing but the very blindness or wilfulness of opposition would dare to make these words imply that the Apostle *had* preached circumcision. His 'yet' refers, as before, to the Saul-period of his ignorant unbelief, when he had applied the Jewish system (or we may say, as expressing the counterpart and opposite of his present life, *preached it*) with the same vigour with which he had since that time opposed it as the way of salvation.

Still less defensible is the fleeting and insinuating application which is made of other passages. The reader not acquainted with Mr. Jowett's writings, would hardly be prepared for the following piece of exegetical witchery. 'That he was conscious also of a certain progress in his life, "forgetting those things that are behind, and reaching forth to those things that are before," is manifest from such passages as Phil. iii. 13; Eph. iv. 13, 14. That there was a difference in his mode of preaching to the Jew and Gentile—to the weak and to the strong—he himself asserts, where he says, "To the Jew became I as a Jew," and "I, brethren could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal, as unto babes in Christ." Compare 1 Cor. ii.; Heb. vi. 1-3. It may be remarked, also, that long afterwards, in writing to the Philippians, he has described that period of his life in which he first preached in European cities, (though more than fourteen years after his conversion,) as "the beginning of the Gospel." (iv. 15.)' All these passages are represented as having some bearing 'more or less near' on the central Corinthian passage, the foundation of the whole hypothesis, concerning the knowing Christ after the flesh. The last of them, as being evidently 'more near,' we have taken the liberty of placing in the forefront, where it ought to have been placed in the argument of this essay, if the writer honestly attached to it the meaning which he professedly gives it.

As to the rest, they are all, without exception, sayings which absolutely have nothing whatever to do with the question of a development in the apostolic doctrine. Of a development in himself, and in the process of his own growth into Christ,—of a gradual fulfilment of his apostolic course, and of the ever-deepening aspiration of his soul towards the yet unattained objects of his calling,—he speaks to the Philippians, and of nothing else. It is little less than gratuitous trifling with the Apostle's sacred words, to apply them to his apostolic function as a teacher of the Church in faith and verity. The question is here simply whether the Apostle represents himself to have varied

the matter of his doctrine. To quote this passage, as it is once and again quoted, as giving an affirmative reply, is exceedingly unworthy, and betrays a want of taste bordering almost on irreverence. Let any one consider that this letter was among the Apostle's later writings, that it was written in that more mature stage of which Mr. Jowett speaks so much, that St. Paul expressly speaks of himself and others with him as perfect in the knowledge of the truth, and that he himself distinctly specifies the one great object with regard to which he was not yet perfected. Then let him ask himself the question, whether in these words St. Paul is really giving it to be understood that there was a clearer vision of doctrine and teaching to which he was pressing forward.

This hopeless cause descends to its lowest point of humiliation when it appeals, however faintly, to some other passages which Professor Jowett refers to without quoting them. The Corinthians were carnal, and immature, and childish, requiring that the Apostle should withhold from them the higher and richer revelations which he would fain have imparted. *Therefore*, St. Paul's doctrine was immature, and carnal, and childish, to suit their temper and spirit. But, did the speaking unto them as unto babes imply the preaching a less spiritual and more carnal Gospel? To the Ephesians the Apostle dilates upon all the glorious privileges of Christianity, and all the fulness of the wisdom of the counsel of God for their edification, and the supreme common perfection into which by God's will the Christian body should grow; and this forsooth is made to intimate that the Apostle himself their teacher was gradually himself advancing to a higher knowledge and apprehension of the truth. Surely the cause must be well-nigh hopeless which requires to be supported by such forced constructions of Scripture.

These are all the passages which are quoted from St. Paul's writings to prove, from his own lips, his gradual insight into the doctrine and system of the Gospel. It is not doing Professor Jowett injustice to say that he makes a very unfair use of them, deliberately making their sound sustain an argument which their sense, in the opinion of almost all expositors, revolts against. The hypothesis which they are supposed to uphold, surely would require some much more express and positive assertions than these. If the Apostle had purposed to tell the Christian Churches that his teaching when among them at a former time had not been sound, would not his honest and frank nature have made the declaration in a manner that could have left no room for doubt? Would he not have been careful to send supplementary epistles everywhere, pointing out the errors

of his former teaching, and defending his people from the consequences of his own earlier immature utterances? Must he not have closed his life with a *Book of Retractations*, instead of the Pastoral Epistles, where all his former doctrines are summed up as *Faithful Sayings*?

Before passing from this subject, we cannot refrain from pointing attention to the exceedingly loose and facile way in which Mr. Jowett everywhere quotes the words of his author. This is not the result of carelessness, much less of want of critical discernment. Nor is it a characteristic of his theory, which, on the contrary, is very rigorous as to the necessity of interpreting every word in its natural and unforced sense. In fact, no canon is more urgently insisted upon as fundamental in the exposition of Scripture, than this. But we feel sure that in the case of every one of the passages on which we have been commenting, the general common-sense interpretation of mankind would be against the meaning which the necessity of Mr. Jowett's argument has imposed upon them. However, the bare assertion of this will not suffice; and we must leave the reader to form his own conclusions. For ourselves, we can hardly understand how the man who gathered together and adjusted the above mosaic of illustration—we cannot term it chain of argument—could have written the following sentences:—‘No words with which we may overlay them, or doctrines which may be maintained respecting them, can make them other than they are. The only way to increase their value, either to the cause of the truth or to our own souls, is to seek to discover nothing in them but the meaning of their author.’ Now, so far as the pages preceding have been occupied in citing and expounding sentences of the Apostle's own, which are supposed to signify that he committed to writing different doctrine at different times, the two sentences we have just quoted are their most effectual rebuke. The natural meaning of the author is not what it is here represented to be. Whether or not there was such a development in his written teaching, the Apostle never says so.

But now let us ask what the Apostle has, throughout his Epistles, taught concerning himself, and the unwavering steadfastness of his doctrine. We have hitherto confined ourselves strictly to the question whether or not St. Paul admits the fact of a gradual change in his teaching: and the question so far is simply one of the interpretation of testimony. The Apostle does not give us to understand that his doctrine had ever changed. On the contrary, there are many of his sayings which do more than imply, which positively declare, the

reverse. Were it not so, it would not be incumbent on us to find proof of the negative of Mr. Jowett's destructive position; it could scarcely be expected that self-assertion would characterize St. Paul's Epistles to any great extent. However, let the reader take these Epistles in their chronological order, and mark the words and turns of expression by which the Apostle indicates his relation to the several Churches, and he will find that there is one steadfast and unwavering strain of declarations that in all that he had ever spoken or written as an Apostle, his word was the authoritative law of Christ. Where those expressions do not positively say as much, they are at least incompatible with the theory of a gradual change of doctrine.

The first extant Epistles—those of which Mr. Jowett says that, when writing them, 'he was on the threshold of the conflict, and not wholly (shall we say?) aware of the thoughts which were hereafter, by the will of God, to spring up within him'—contain their own sufficient credentials. Their general tone, and certain sayings in them, are strangely at variance with the dim presentiments of a coming knowledge which are attributed to the writer. He speaks of 'our Gospel,' equivalent to the 'my Gospel' of other Epistles, which not even an angel from heaven might vary, or change *for* another, or develop *into* another. We have not gone beyond the third paragraph in his writings when we hear him saying, that the following of him was the following of the Lord. (1 Thess. i. 6.) Presently afterwards he speaks in a very remarkable manner—and, as it were, in the spirit of an introductory defence of his writings against all future Rationalism—of his being put in *trust* with the Gospel, and *speaking* accordingly. The full strength of these expressions will be caught only by the critical reader, who can weigh the value of that word 'intrusted,' in St. Paul's writings, down to the Pastoral Epistles. And when they are connected with the subsequent declaration that the Thessalonians filled him with thankfulness because they had received his Gospel, 'not as the word of man, but, as it is in truth, the word of God,' (ii. 14,)—and with the opening of the third chapter, where the Apostle speaks of having given them *commandments by the Lord Jesus*, which embraced the whole circle of the truth in which they were 'to walk and please God,' (iv. 1, 2,)—and with the significant introduction to the resurrection-passage, (iv. 13; v. 11,) wherein St. Paul begins a new subject with 'We say unto you *by the word of the Lord*,'—and with the opening of the fifth chapter, where his *writing* and their *perfect knowledge* are counterpart terms,—and with the final injunction that 'this



Epistle be read unto all the holy brethren ;'—what is the impression which they must produce upon the mind but this, that Mr. Jowett and all his school are utterly wrong, and that St. Paul began his writings for the Churches with the assertion of an absolute authority to preach and teach an infallible and unchangeable standard of truth?

Nothing could be easier than to fortify our position by a circle of testimonies from the successive Epistles. But this is unnecessary; for, if the first document from the Apostle's pen—a document which Mr. Jowett assigns really, though not formally, to a very undeveloped stage of the Apostle's gnosis—contains such assertions of a fixed *norma credendorum*, it is superfluous to go for proof to the rest. Moreover, any further reference to these evidences would involve an anticipation of Mr. Jowett's more advanced arguments from the doctrine of the Epistles themselves. At present we have to do only with his strange and incessantly-repeated assertion, that St. Paul admits in his writings 'a change'—not development, but 'change' is the word—'in his teaching.' St. Paul makes no such admission, but writes always in a style which is utterly inconsistent with such an admission. Whatever strength there may be in his further arguments from the nature of the case, and from the theology itself of the Epistles, there is none whatever in his induction of St. Paul's words.

Much stress is laid, though apparently in a very incidental manner, upon the confirmation which this development-hypothesis receives from the nature of the case, and the analogy of the whole history of Divine revelation. This *à priori* reasoning pervades the whole of Mr. Jowett's statement and defence of his theory. Indeed, he is content to base his whole hypothesis upon it, if historical and doctrinal pleas are brought into conflict with his views. He breathes a gentle note of anticipatory defiance against all that may be urged in opposition:—

'Whether the conjecture offered be sound or otherwise (and the peculiarity, it may once more be observed, of the Epistles to the Thessalonians, as well as the meaning of 2 Cor. v. 16, are quite independent of it), it cannot be refuted on grounds of doctrine. Objections of this kind lie without the range of an historical inquiry. That St. Paul saw the truth more clearly at one period of his life than at another, is simply a statement of his own. It is a fact of the same nature as his greater enlightenment than the Apostles at Jerusalem, or the preparation of John the Baptist for Christ's coming, or the relation of the Old Testament to the New. As in the world, so in the individual, we witness the formation of the Gospel, the preparations for it, the anticipations of it. If it be hard to imagine an inspired Apostle



growing in the knowledge of Christian truth, it would be still harder (would it be more reverent?) to imagine him standing still. To deny differences of thought and character in the first teachers of Christianity, or in any one of them, at different times, or to deny the still greater differences of ages and states of society, renders the Scripture unmeaning, and, by depriving us of all rule of interpretation, enables us to substitute, for its historical and grammatical sense, any other that we please.'

This quotation opens up an entirely different line of argument, and we must accordingly vary our own method of defence. The first thing to be settled is the real point in dispute. With much of what is here seemingly advanced, all Christians cordially agree; but from what is stealthily insinuated—yet not altogether stealthily, for the disguise is soon thrown off by the writer's franker nature—we at least most absolutely dissent. For instance, we are ready to grant all that the nature of the case demands, as to the gradual advancement of the Apostle in spiritual knowledge and experience and practical godliness; as to his ever-deepening insight into—or, if it be preferred, his clearer view of—the counsel of the Divine will in the unfolded mystery of redemption; and as to the ever-enlarging experience which contact with heresy, and continuous application of the truth to the endless modifications of human life and need, gave him of the manifold treasures of wisdom and knowledge which are hid in Christ. Mr. Jowett need not fear: none of his opponents are so wanting in *reverence* as to deny to the Apostle what it would be unreason, and not irreverence simply, to deny to him. We believe that St. Paul, like every other Christian, received the first touch of the Healing Hand which made him see men as trees walking; and that he afterwards received the second touch which made him see every man clearly. We believe that the eyes of his understanding were gradually enlightened to know 'the hope of His calling, and the riches of the glory of His inheritance in the saints;' and we are sure that the Apostle is now, and will for ever be, enlarging his views of the love of Christ in redemption, which passeth alike all temporal and all eternal knowledge. All this we believe; and were this all that Mr. Jowett insists upon, we should accept all his beautiful illustrations with thankfulness, and sit at his feet as not the least among the expositors of St. Paul's mind and meaning.

But, after all, this is not the question between us. St. Paul is to the modern theory a divinely-appointed teacher of the Church, who is preaching his way to 'clearer' views of the truth; who becomes by degrees a less Jewish and more Christian expositor

of the Christian system; who writes and teaches according to his advancing lights, addressing to the Churches *and to us* 'simple and easy words, going from one man's heart to touch those of others;' who leaves behind him Epistles which are not to be used as 'dead words, but as witnesses of his mind and life;' and who finally bequeaths to the Church of all ages the aggregate of his apostolical work, to be rationally appreciated as one among many contributions to Christian knowledge, which, indeed, was quite uninfluential upon many succeeding ages, but at length began to assert its claims in more enlightened ages, and is now, in these last Illuminist days, beginning to be rationally interpreted. To us, St. Paul is very much more than all this. To our view he was an inspired Apostle, heir of all the promises of infallible guidance which the Eleven received from our Lord's own lips, and in the fulfilment of which promises he had the larger share of the father of his tribe, Benjamin's portion. It is our faith that he was, at his conversion, at once led to a clear view of Jesus Christ, the central object of all truth, by a sudden illumination which lighted up to him the whole relation of the Redeemer to the Old Testament, to Judaism, and to the Gentile world; that he was then for three years trained by the Holy Ghost—as the Apostles in Christ before him had been trained for three years by the Saviour Himself—into a full apprehension of all the fundamental doctrines of the new faith; that he went forth on his missionary labours replenished with all the fulness of the Holy Spirit's teaching, with a perfect knowledge of the system of the Christian revelation, and with a spiritual discernment which Divine influence never suffered to be at fault; that in those labours,—introductory, transitional, and comparatively transitory in their effects as some of them were,—he preached one Saviour and one salvation, one centre and one sphere of truth, one Gospel and one application of it, always, everywhere, and to all men; that when he entered on his writings, on the still more permanent sphere of his influence, he was, in the fullest sense of the word, a 'man in Christ,'—though born out of due time, yet now, at least for a season, like another Saul, head-and-shoulders taller than his brethren,—fitted by the disciplinary training, and still more by the plenary inspiration of the Holy Ghost, to leave on everlasting record, and in its perfect integrity, the whole truth as it is in Jesus; and, finally, that the body of his Epistles, added to the 'other Scriptures,' exerted all the influence of Divine truth upon the age which received them, and have exerted, either latently or avowedly, the same influence upon the course of all succeeding ages of the Christian Church.

The entire argument, however, may be best met by bringing it into relation with three aspects of St. Paul's place in the Scripture. We shall confront the leading idea of this theory, first, with the plain revelation given us of the Apostle's conversion, then with the character and period of his missionary labours, and lastly with the place assigned to him as a teacher for all ages.

The conversion of St. Paul is narrated by himself with all possible fulness. The account of the sudden and perfect change of all his views is given by himself and St. Luke historically in the Acts, and afterwards theologically described in the Epistles, especially that to the Philippians. And one thing is impressed upon the candid reader,—amid a multitude of other things,—namely, that St. Paul's conversion was unlike the conversion of other men in the nature of its process. In its character, and in its results, it was like all other conversion: but in its process—including its means, its suddenness, its completeness—it has no parallel either in Scripture or out of it. Jesus met the future Apostle in person. He did not leave him to the ordinary conviction of the word and Spirit, but singled him out for a kind of demonstration of which there never had been, and would not be again, an example. Now, whosoever studies the several co-ordinate accounts of this wonderful conversion—collating carefully the Acts and the Epistles—will, we think, be constrained to come to the conclusion that it leaves no room for the modern hypothesis. It certainly shows that St. Paul, like every other convert to Christ, was left for a season to the working of his secret convictions, was permitted to struggle with the body of death, and was not delivered from his anguish until he had known, by deep, if not long, experience, the wretchedness of a condemned spirit. But it also shows that the conflict was soon over; and that the deliverance, when effected, was complete. The second touch, which gave him to see his Saviour clearly, soon followed the first. He died with Christ for ever to the law; and rose with Christ to the newness of an everlasting life. Whatever may be said as to the gradual emancipation of the earlier Apostles from the trammels of the old system, and the slowness of their full new birth in Christ, or Christ's full birth in them—in St. Paul's case the great process was suddenly and soon and perfectly effected. He was born out of due time as an Apostle; but as a man, his regeneration was the pattern of the Holy Spirit's most perfect operation: hence he refers to himself at that period as 'a man in Christ.'

We say again, that all this is utterly inconsistent with the whole theory on which Mr. Jowett constructs his exhibition of St. Paul's life and work and relations to the early Church.

Even he must allow that the beginning of the eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, and the strain of the third chapter of the Epistle to the Philippians, were intended by the Apostle to delineate the sacred history of his new birth in Christ—to be his own comment upon his own declaration that 'the Son of God was revealed in him.' But, if he allows that, his entire hypothesis must fall to the ground. The man whose conversion is thus described, could not have retained the slightest vestige of a circumcision-Christianity. His hold upon the grand fundamental principles of a spiritual religion must have been from the beginning firm and sure. Between the law and the Gospel, between Moses and Christ, between the letter and the spirit, between the old and the new, he never could have wavered; after that great crisis of establishment he never could have again 'known Christ according to the flesh.'

Let us now turn to consider how this hypothesis consists with the probabilities of the case, in relation to the Apostle's first stage of labour, as the founder of Christian Churches. The notion conveyed by the hypothesis on which we comment is this,—that St. Paul set out from Antioch with one or two elementary truths, revolving around the name of Jesus, in his mind, and no more; that he went out to the wilderness of Judaism and heathenism, with one holy but monotonous cry, like John the Baptist,—lifting up everywhere a voice of preparation, summoning all men to believe in the name of Jesus, and then passing on, leaving the rest of the work to spontaneous development, and the supervision of the Holy Ghost. On this theory St. Paul's first missionary journeys were tentative and experimental; and could have done—could have designed to do—little more than prepare the way, by the preaching of one or two central truths, for the subsequent announcement of the more perfect Gospel. Meanwhile, that Gospel he did not as yet himself know; he was only an Apostle of the circumcision as yet,—that is to say, as compared with his future self. His knowledge was at that time as much inferior to his own subsequent matured knowledge, as it was already superior to that of the Twelve. Mr. Jowett greatly rejoices in this discovery: it sheds light upon all the obscurities of St. Paul's Epistles, and gives a ready explanation of almost every difficulty they contain. But it is a theory which will not bear the test. Like many other things in these volumes, it is vaguely stated, and tacitly assumed, and then woven into the entire texture of the composition. It is a theory which seems natural; it fascinates the writer by its promise of help; and, finding it very serviceable for the relief of difficulties, he adopts it at once, without any care to ascertain whether

or not it be consistent with all the facts of the case. These vague, generalizing, speculative, so-called suggestive disquisitions are the bane of sound theology. This we assert, knowing full well that a great portion of the theology of the present day takes this form, and that the readers love to have it so; but the pleasure which they receive may be very dearly purchased, and, if we can do but little more, we can at least give warning. However, to return to our subject: these views are inconsistent, both with the character of St. Paul's original commission, and the course of preparation for its discharge which he underwent.

It is singular that these Essays make so slight reference to the narrative of the Acts of the Apostles, which, however, furnishes the best materials for guiding our judgment as to the earlier stage of St. Paul's apostolical work. There we have the record of those colloquies between the servant and the Master, which marked out most clearly the course that he was to run, and the object that he was to pursue. The commission which he received directly from the Lord's lips, specified what was to be the one fixed unchangeable matter of his preaching and scope of his labours. It did not appoint him to be a kind of mediator between the Apostles of the circumcision (as they are termed) and the perfect Gospel; still less did it send him forth to carry an introductory Gospel of the circumcision to the Gentiles; but it commanded him to preach to the People and to the Gentiles the one doctrine of redemption in a crucified Saviour, remission of sins by faith, and inheritance among them that are sanctified through believing in Him. And here it is to be remarked that St. Paul makes constant reference in his Epistles to his direct call to the Apostleship, and speaks of the grace given unto him to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ, and to unfold the mystery hid from ages and generations, as given unto him when he received *his Gospel*: he always connects the one work of his life with the one great call and vocation of his life; he traces all his labours up to his earliest appointment; and, in fact, allows no room whatever for that development and change in his apostolical teaching upon which Mr. Jowett so constantly insists. 'We could not, indeed, expect,' he says, 'that the Apostle should allude more clearly to a change which was half-concealed from himself, and which it was needless for him to detail to his converts.' But, on the supposition of such a change, we certainly should not expect that the Apostle would so plainly assert that he had never varied from the instructions originally given to him; we should not expect to find him always referring to his distinctive Gentile Apostleship, in all the fulness of its meaning, as having been the glory and the grace of his whole life from

the beginning of his ministry. Moreover, as the Apostle explains in the Epistles the purport of his original commission, so he, also, in his sermons in the Acts, confirms that explanation. We have there a few specimens of the way in which he interpreted his own orders and his Master's will: let Mr. Jowett read those sermons again—for our readers it will hardly be necessary—and he will be constrained to confess, that at no period in his recorded history did St. Paul preach a Gospel one jot or tittle diverging from the glorious Gospel which he stamps as the Faithful Saying in the final Epistles to Timothy.

Then the argument drops. Or was there an unknown time, anterior to his appearance before the congregations in the Acts, when the Apostle of the Gentiles preached ignorantly a Christ not yet emancipated from carnal appendages? But of such a time the history knows nothing. On the contrary, that history, followed backwards, traces the Apostle's career up to a season of profound retirement—one reason of which was, we make bold to think, the rendering that impossible against which we here protest. His Master sent him, with His few most weighty words, into years of seclusion; there, with a key given him out of heaven, to unlock and study the mysteries which his future life was to teach. And that seclusion was not a barren time: there he searched the Scriptures, and found Him of whom they testified everywhere. There he saw and heard things which eye had not seen, nor ear heard, nor had it entered the heart of man to conceive—things which it should be *not* unlawful to utter. There the Divine Spirit trained him to all that fulness and clearness of knowledge which this vain theory supposes him to have acquired only as the fruit of long experience.

And, as the account given by Scripture of the Apostle's conversion, and his relations as the founder of Churches, do not sanction the bold hypothesis of his gradual induction into the truth of the Gospel, so the consideration of the period when he entered on his career of written teaching forbids such a supposition. St. Paul did not begin his career of writing until one half of his active ministry was past. For fifteen years at least he had published the Gospel; he had founded many Churches; and had during that time surely brought to bear upon the living minds and hearts of half the world the whole circle of Christian doctrine. In that time he must have exhausted almost every application of the new truth, and have sounded the very depths of the new revelation of the will of God. Can it be supposed for a moment that, after so long a preparation and discipline—after three years of silent instruction at the outset—after ten years of active preaching and exposition of the Old-Testament Scrip-



tures in the light of their New-Testament fulfilment—after all his colloquies with his fellow-Apostles, who, however, in conference added nothing unto him—after half a life spent in the school of the Holy Ghost, where his spiritual mind was taught to discern spiritual things—he had to begin again to learn the first principles of the doctrine of Christ? Even were we to grant—which, however, it has been shown cannot be granted—that the first ten years of his missionary labours were tentative and experimental,—that the Apostle's preaching gave forth at first, on many points, an uncertain sound, acquiring more and more precision as time passed, and light grew upon him,—it would still be in the highest degree irrational to regard that uncertainty as continued into the sphere of his written teaching for the Church of all ages. Even if the teaching of his bodily presence, in the infant and struggling Churches, had ever been vacillating and weak, yet the teaching of his letters for all posterity might surely be expected to have been settled and firm. The contrary supposition is irrational, on three grounds: first, the Apostle's growth in knowledge cannot reasonably be supposed to have left him, at so late a period of life, any room for further instruction, as it respects the fundamentals of the Gospel; secondly, his own estimate of the importance of his written communications would never have allowed him to commit to the keeping of the Churches any partial and uncertain doctrine; and, thirdly, it cannot be regarded as consistent with any views whatever of the supervision of the Holy Ghost, the Lawgiver in the Church, that He should have allowed these final and formal documents to be unsound or incomplete.

If we dwell any further upon the first point, it is only to expose more fully than we have yet done the confusion that reigns in these volumes between the principles of truth and the application of truth. There is not a word said about the development of the Apostle's Christianity which is not perfectly reasonable when referred to the enlargement of his experience of the adaptations, and the capabilities of adaptation, which his Gospel admitted. In the nature of things he must have had daily experience of the infinite versatility of the living truths which he preached. Every new city that he visited presented to him new combinations of social and civil life which his Gospel must confront, and regulate, and condemn or sanctify. As he travelled from meridian to meridian, and from zone to zone, new and ever-shifting aspects of error, and vice, and evil custom would arise, demanding new applications of the same truth. All idolatry was not the same idolatry; all errors were not the same errors; all evil practices were not the same evil practices:



there were ten thousand modifications of the common enemy, requiring many various exhibitions of argument, revelation, warning, and motive, and precept. So also, as years rolled over the infant Churches, a multitude of contingencies would emerge, demanding the settlement of a multitude of unresolved questions, and problems, and difficulties. All this gives its boundless variety to the pages of the later New Testament, stamping upon every Epistle its own individuality, and giving every paragraph its new and distinctive subject. But throughout there is the same doctrine of God, of redemption, of sin and its cure, of holiness and its means, of blessedness and its consummation: all is one amid endless diversity.

For this is really the question which is raised by Mr. Jowett's disquisitions. If we penetrate the mist of his subtlety, and grasp the one principle which he asserts, it is this, that St. Paul's *doctrine* fluctuated, or at least (to use the favourite word) wavered from people to people, and from period to period of his labours. Now he proclaims a Christ accommodated to Jewish prejudices, a Christ from the conception of whom the carnal element is not purged; then he asserts a naked spiritual Christ offered to simple faith. Now he paints a speedy advent and a visible reign amid semi-Jewish concomitants, so that he lays himself open to the accusation of setting up a 'new king, one Jesus;' then he retracts or dismisses this sanguine fiction, and exhorts all like himself to be ready to depart and be with Jesus. These are but specimens. The vindication of the unity of St. Paul's doctrine must be referred to a subsequent page. Our only object now is to point out the confusion which Mr. Jowett's arguments everywhere exhibit between the actual changes in the application of his doctrine which the Apostle's Epistles present, and the supposed change of his doctrine itself.

But, secondly, the view which we are constrained to hold concerning the Apostle's estimate of the importance of his own writings protests strongly against this whole theory. Nothing is more characteristic of the modern theory than the pains it takes to lower the Apostle's writings to the level of the writings of other men. St. Paul's Epistles 'are not parts of a supernatural design, the pattern of which is to be restored after many ages, but simple and easy words going from one man's heart to touch those of others.' All possible skill is employed to reconcile the eternal meaning of his written words with their spontaneous and transitory character; but still the impression remains—and every additional page of these disquisitions tends to stamp it deeper—that the Apostle's writings are individually and collectively only one wise man's views among many, only 'a stage in his

Gospel,' and of the Gospel generally. 'He is not a bishop administering a regular system, but a person dealing immediately with other persons out of the fulness of his own mind and nature. His writings are like spoken words, temporary, occasional, adapted to other men's thoughts and feelings, yet not without an eternal meaning.' 'Nothing can be more indirect, or occasional, than most of the Epistles of St. Paul: they seem to have hardly any set purpose: they are the fragments or remains of his life, not the exposition of his system. Unmeaning they only appear when we judge them by a modern standard, and when, losing sight of him and his converts, we attempt to elicit from them notions of philosophy, or revelations of the unseen world.' And somewhere we read of the Apostle's 'sitting down to his desk,' and so forth. Such representations as these are vague and general; and perhaps might be sufficiently met by counter-arguments of the same nature. But the question may be asked, Is all this a fair account of the *tone* which St. Paul assumes? Does it honestly represent the authoritative style in which he addresses all the Churches, as well those which were founded by other Apostles as those which called himself their father?

From the beginning to the end of his epistolary teaching the Apostle writes in a strain of absolute authority which is utterly inconsistent with every hypothesis but this,—that he speaks as the inspired medium of the Divine will. To all whose theory does not make them short-sighted and dull of hearing, there are evidences enough that St. Paul, when he wrote each Epistle, was conscious that he was writing Holy Scripture, for the whole Church, and valid for all ages. He begins the long series, and he closes it, with declarations that are absolutely incomprehensible on the modern hypothesis. In the first Epistle to the Thessalonians—which is, so to speak, the Introduction to his written teaching—he closes with the memorable words, 'I adjure you by the Lord that this Epistle be read to all the brethren.' Now, if we weigh well the full meaning of this command,—if we consider what this public reading in the Church signified and involved, and the solemn emphasis of this sacred charge,—we must be constrained to admit that St. Paul intended to invest his letter with all the dignity of the ancient word of God, and to place it in the sanctuary whence the Divine Oracles had issued from the beginning. He manifestly makes his Epistle a continuation and confirmation of that word which he had orally delivered, 'not as the word of men, but as the word of God.' He tacitly gives it to be understood that the same inspiration dictated and ruled both; that what he wrote, and

what he had spoken, was alike the direct truth of God. Accordingly, in the second Epistle—which soon followed—he commands them ‘to hold the traditions which they had been taught, whether by word or our Epistle,’ and bids them set a mark upon the man who obeyed not his word; most plainly thereby attesting the equal and sovereign authority of his written and spoken injunctions, and declaring both alike to be the inspired word of God. And to make all this still more emphatic, he adds at the close a repetition of the former salutation, or Divine benediction, which was to be the token in every Epistle of its apostolical origin and supreme authority.

There is not one of St. Paul's fourteen Epistles which does not contain evidence—such evidence, that is, as the case alone admits—of its being sent to those who receive it as the authoritative rule of faith, settlement of controversy, and directory of life. He always writes as having received his message directly from the Lord Himself, and with the authority of one who admits no appeal from his words. Space forbids our quoting illustrations of this: nor, indeed, is it necessary; for they will occur at once to the reader who is familiar with the Apostle's writings. Passing over, therefore, all the intermediate Epistles, we refer to the last, in which St. Paul, as it were of set purpose, sets the seal of infallible inspiration upon all that he had written. He bids his son Timothy continue in the things which he had learned and been assured of,—knowing ‘of whom he had learned them.’ And of whom had Timothy learned the full and perfect truth which, through the faith which is in Jesus Christ, had made him wise unto salvation? The question is answered in the commencement of the Epistle, where Timothy is exhorted to ‘hold fast the form of sound words which thou hast heard of me, in faith and love which is in Christ Jesus.’ Here, then, Timothy's finished and full instruction in Holy Scripture, that which made him a ‘perfected man of God,’ (iii. 17,) is represented as the result of the Apostle's own teaching. The Holy Scriptures, which he had known from a child, had, through the Apostle's explanation of them, and faith in Christ Jesus, made him wise unto salvation. And then St. Paul adds,—most evidently enlarging the limits of the term ‘Scripture’ so as to include his own superadded instructions,—‘*All* Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness: that the man of God may be perfected, thoroughly furnished unto all good works.’ Here it is not the Holy Scriptures of the old covenant which alone are referred to: these of themselves were not sufficient to *perfect* the man of God. His perfection as a

Christian scribe, instructed in the mysteries of the new kingdom of heaven, required that other Scriptures should be brought out of the treasury of God. And those Timothy had received from St. Paul: 'Thou hast,' he says, (iii. 10,) 'fully known my doctrine.' We have only, in conclusion, to call to mind what St. Peter says concerning the relation of St. Paul's writings to the 'other Scriptures,' and the result of the whole is plain—as the Church of all ages has received it—that the Apostle adds his own written doctrine, the sum and substance of all his spoken doctrine, to the general body of Holy Scripture, as the instrument which the Holy Ghost uses to make Timothy and all Christians everywhere 'perfected men of God' in spiritual understanding.

But we are in danger of digressing into the general question of the inspiration of the New Testament. That is by no means our present subject. The point which we have been desirous to establish is this, that the fragmentary and uncertain character ascribed to the epistolary teaching of St. Paul is inconsistent with the importance attached by the Apostle himself to his own writings. He delivered to the Churches documents absolute and authoritative in tone, and accompanied them by peremptory command that they should be read in all the Churches around. In those Epistles he announced as the teaching of the Lord new doctrines and new aspects of old doctrine; and represented those doctrines, as a whole, and in all their component parts, as the faith which was to be delivered to the keeping of the Church for ever. Without the slightest reserve or qualification he uniformly gave to all his own sayings all the weight, authority, and force, which the words of the present and visible Lord could have had. The men who, or the factions which, should dare to revolt against the decrees pronounced in his Epistles, were to be marked and avoided by all Christians; and in some cases they were given over by the Apostle himself to Satan, that they might learn not to blaspheme, or speak against the truth. When occasion required, he referred to the 'authority given unto him'—authority extending to the utter condemnation of all doctrine, and of the teachers of all doctrine, which opposed *his* teaching—with the calm dignity of one who was conscious of a plenary inspiration, and could appeal to the assurance of others that he possessed it. But, not to carry these remarks any further, let us return to our question: Is all this consistent with the modern theory of the Apostle's theological composition? Can any one observe what has been above alluded to—allowing, too, whatever deduction or qualification of our strong words may be deemed necessary—and then accept

the notion of these modern expositors that St. Paul simply and frankly poured out the occasional thoughts and feelings of his heart, as any other man might have been supposed to do? The theory and the facts are utterly at variance. However plausible this hypothesis may be made to appear, it has no sanction from the Apostle himself. Mr. Jowett strives very hard to make it appear otherwise. He is exceedingly anxious to carry St. Paul with him in all his free views of the interpretation of the New Testament. But it is in vain that he tortures the Apostle's sayings. They will not surrender their apostolical dignity. They will not become as the words of other men. St. Paul 'at his desk,' and writing out of the fulness of his heart his free thinkings and suggestions, cannot be made any other than what he represents himself—sometimes in express word, and always in the spirit of his utterances—to be, that is, an inspired Apostle 'set for the defence of the truth.'

Before closing this particular topic, it may be desirable to advert for a moment to the quiet but very significant use which is made of the supposed fact of St. Paul's having written many letters, most of which are lost. Taking it for granted, that the Apostle wrote, during his Christian career, many such letters as that to Philemon, and thinking it all but certain that he wrote at least several more formal letters to the Churches which, however, have been lost, Mr. Jowett insinuates a great deal of subtle inference, as bearing upon the question in hand. But, until it is proved that the Apostle's occasional words absolutely render necessary the hypothesis of lost Epistles,—an hypothesis which, with the singular consequences here drawn from it, demands separate treatment,—we may fairly leave this element unconsidered. It may be observed, however, that as the Apostle represents himself sometimes as speaking not by commandment, but as expressing the thought only of his own spiritual mind, so also we may suppose him to have sometimes written not by commandment, but as a man might write to his friend. But the Epistles which we possess were written for all Churches and for all times. If any part of the word of God was written under the moving impulse of the Holy Ghost, these Epistles were. Of such Epistles not one could be lost; and when St. Peter refers to 'all' his brother Paul's Epistles, we think we hear in these words a guarantee of the safe preservation of the very Epistles which we now possess. But this leads us on to the third consideration mentioned above as militating against the theory of these volumes.

Our strongest argument against the theory of St. Paul's gradual illumination, as progressively brightening through his

Epistles, is its inconsistency with the Holy Spirit's supervision as the supreme Lawgiver in the perfected Church of Christ. We shall quote here a couple of sentences, in which Mr. Jowett puts the argument from the nature of the case. 'That St. Paul saw the truth more clearly at one period of his life than another, is simply a statement of his own. It is a fact of the same nature as his greater enlightenment than the Apostles at Jerusalem, or the preparation of John the Baptist for Christ's coming, or the relation of the Old Testament to the New. As in the world, so in the individual, we witness the formation of the Gospel, the preparations for it, the anticipations of it.' 'The perception of this growth and self-enlarging power of the truths of the Gospel, either as seen in the lives of the Apostles, or in the after history of the Church, is not inconsistent with the conviction of Divine origin.' The one principle, into which the points contained in these quotations resolve themselves, is this, that we have no reason whatever for supposing that the New Testament, as a revelation of God's will, contained anything like a perfect and finished system of truth. What the Old Testament was to the New, the New Testament itself is to an undefined future development of truth. What John the Baptist was to the coming of Christ, St. Paul the Apostle was to the future developed knowledge of the Church. As St. Paul was the superior of the Apostles at Jerusalem, in the clearness with which he apprehended Christian truth, so the earlier St. Paul was surpassed by his later self. And we may hold our conviction of the Divine origin of Christianity, while admitting that as a system it never reached in apostolical times, and in fact has never yet reached, its final and fixed standard and form. It may perhaps seem that we have exaggerated the inferences deducible from the above quotations; but it will be found by those who study the writings of these modern expositors of the Gospel, that this is not an unfair representation of their views. Would that it were so! Gladly would we suffer the impeachment of our fidelity or discrimination, and retract all that has been said.

The Holy Spirit, as the great Revealer of all the will of God in Christ, has no distinctive place in this theology. His name may be sometimes found; but His office is not there. The day of Pentecost is but as other days; it is not an epoch; it does not divide between the revelation and the revelation; it is not the consummation of the former times, nor the beginning of the last and best days; it has lost all its glory, and nearly lost all its meaning. The holy Apostles are not much nearer their adult stature after that day than they were before. The Saviour is still known after the flesh; and the Twelve pass through their re-



maining history, with apprehensions of the mystery of His redeeming work very little elevated—St. James in this theology being witness—above the apprehensions which their Master rebuked in the days of His flesh. It is true that, when St. Paul was raised up, and added to their number, he far outstripped them all in the abundance of his revelation; but even he long clung to carnal misconceptions, and only in the last few years of his apostolical course was emancipated from the Jewish prejudices which the Day of Pentecost failed to relax. Thus, on the whole, that great and glorious Day—the Day concerning which the Lord had said that it would bring them ‘power from on high,’ and that the Holy Ghost, whose advent it should be, would bring all His sayings to their remembrance—has been through all the ages of the Church greatly exaggerated; it has been antedated by many centuries; and must, by a sound and illuminated theology, be brought down to *these* last and best days in which we live.

But to return to sober argument. The uniform doctrine of St. Paul—and to him we make our appeal, because our opponents accept, for the most part, his extant words—is this, that the advent of the Holy Ghost in these ‘last days’ has brought to man the whole ‘truth as it is in Jesus.’ Or, to put the same declaration in other words, the revelation of the Son of God is represented throughout the New Testament—not only by St. Paul, but by all its writers—as the final revelation of all the mind and will of God. This needs no proof: it is assented to by all, our adversaries not being dissentient. But the question arises, Were all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge which are hid in Christ revealed to the Apostles, and by them written in a final Book of God? or were they only germinally revealed to the Apostles, by them to be faintly and dimly apprehended, but to be developed in all their fulness through the subsequent ages of the living Church? In other words, Did the revelation of the Divine Will in the New Covenant terminate in Christ Himself—the subsequent writings of the New Testament being only the commencement of the long course of development and application which has gone on, and is going on, and will go on with progressive clearness to the end of time? Or, was the revelation of the Divine Will continued, after the Saviour’s lips had ceased to speak, to the persons and in the writings of the Apostles—the period of development and constructive theology not beginning till they had uttered all that was given them to speak, and left behind them their final testimony in writing?

The former is the faith—if it have any faith—of the modern theology: the latter is what we surely believe; and in this anti-



thesis lies the true statement of the difference between us. Sorry should we be to carry that difference up to a higher region—though sometimes the gloomy suspicion crosses our mind, while reading their writings, that they can hardly receive the Son of God Himself as the Revealer in a supernatural manner of God's perfect truth. Rejecting that suspicion, however,—which would break the last link of sympathy between us and them,—we take it for granted that they must believe that the Son of God Incarnate was full of truth, as well as full of grace; and, therefore, that the same God who, in sundry degrees and in divers manners, spake in times past to the fathers by the Prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by His Son. In some sense—in some sense which we must hold in common—Christ Jesus has perfected the former revelation. He has finished the work which was given Him to do;—not only by fulfilling all the promises, symbols, types, and pledges of redemption, but also by consummating the Divine but unfinished plan of instructing mankind by written oracles.

When did this final revelation end, if it have ever yet ended? Not, certainly, when Jesus Himself ceased to teach: that very teaching itself taught the contrary. He Himself always testified that He would leave all His own doctrine to be perfected by Another; that all His own instructions should be brought to His Apostles' minds—and more than that, should be *shown*, explained, enlarged, and *glorified*—by the Holy Ghost. If the entire record of the Gospel is to be received as containing the True Sayings of the Incarnate Saviour, its testimony must be received that those True Sayings were not Final Sayings. One unhappy tendency of modern theology is to restrict the limits of revelation as such to the actual teaching of the visible Son of God. It thus dishonours His words by pretending to honour them. Whatever it may say about the glorification of the Son of God Himself, it will not suffer His words to share that glorification. In other words, the Saviour may be carried up to the heavens, but the Teacher for ever remains on the carnal side of the Cross. It knows Christ the Revealer only as 'Christ after the flesh.'

Then we are required steadfastly to believe that the revelation which the unascended Lord left incomplete, was to be finished by His Apostles, under the guidance of the Holy Ghost. And they were to finish it themselves, in their own proper person, and as the fruit of their own earthly ministry. The same Saviour who resigned up the perfecting of His doctrine to another Person, and to a future time, expressly named that Person, and defined that time. He did not declare that He consigned His doctrine

to the development and expansion of future ages, or that He committed the seeds of His truth to the soil of the Church. He limited a certain day, and a certain season of days; the day of Pentecost, and the apostolical age. To the body of the Apostles—including two others whom he would bring in, not yet of that fold—He gave the same commission which he had received of the Father. Reserving that part of His commission which He alone could discharge, He in the most emphatic manner assigned the rest to them. 'All things,' He said, proleptically, 'which I have received of My Father, I have made known to you.' Virtually, they had already received all; actually, the Holy Ghost must first be given. The things which Jesus began to teach before the third day of His perfecting, He continued to teach by His very representatives, the Apostles. The whole New Testament dissolves, if this is not true.

But they did not complete the revelation of their Master's will in their preaching. Nor was it ever signified to them that they should. It needed not an express announcement to teach them that the Divine order from the beginning would be still observed; and that the Holy Oracles, of which they were to be the last instruments, would be written as well as spoken Oracles: spoken for the fleeting preparation, written for the lasting results. The Jewish mind knew no other counsel of God than this. The Scriptures were to them—as to their Master always—*Holy Letters*. They had been accustomed by the Lord to regard what the Prophets *wrote and spoke* as one and the same utterance of the Prophets. They went forth to preach, as fully knowing that the whole body of inspired truth which was given them by the Holy Ghost would finally be committed to writing, and thus finally sealed, and 'had in remembrance,' as St. Peter says, 'after their decease.'

Then we come to the conclusion that the revelation of the Divine will in the New Covenant reached its perfection in the writings of the Apostles. This was the belief of the early Church, the great labour of which was to collect and authenticate and keep sacred from interpolation these and no other writings. This has been the faith of the whole body of the Christian Church through all intervening ages; for it may be said that the enormous errors which have encumbered the *Rule of Interpretation* have left the original faith in the perfected canon untouched. More than all this, it is the doctrine of the Scriptures themselves; they in many ways which we cannot here discuss—not now writing on the doctrine of Inspiration—assert individually their own apostolical authority, and mutually confirm each other, down to the last 'book' of St. John which

confirms and throws its most solemn sanctions round all the rest. Modern criticism finds it very hard to shake itself free from the trammels of this ancient inveterate faith, or, to adopt its own language, this spiritual instinct of Christendom. It pares down the New Testament to more or less narrow limits; but yet cannot refrain from treating those words of Christ and His Apostles which the eliminating process has left with a certain respect not felt for the writings of other men. The volumes before us present a singular—would we might say hopeful—inconsistency upon this point. The disquisitions leave but little which we can with ‘certain assurance’ accept as the final expression of St. Paul’s mind; but that little finds for the most part a reverent and all but perfectly Christian exposition. Indeed, he who should pass from the Commentary to the Essays would be tempted to think that the writer—if he wrote both—must have undergone a strange, though, alas! inverted, development in his own theory of the Apostle’s views.

We have now arrived at a sure result which bears upon our present argument with Professor Jowett. His two strong points are, as we have seen again and again, that there was a difference of doctrine between St. Paul and the rest of the Apostles, and that there was a difference of doctrine between St. Paul at one period and St. Paul at another. With regard to the former, it may now be boldly said that it does not affect the question at all; with regard to the latter, it may be said with equal confidence that in the nature of the case it was impossible.

Even granting that for a long series of years the body of the older Apostles were still entangled in Jewish prejudices, and that their full education as preachers of the everlasting Gospel to all the ends of the earth occupied another term of comparative probation,—that does not affect the unity of St. Paul’s doctrine with theirs. In the first place, there is in the history a sufficient reason assigned for their long lingering—in more senses than one—around Jerusalem. They had been commanded to begin there, but were not told hastily to continue their progress. In the mean time, other messengers were dispersed over the earth to prepare their future way; and, while the Saviour’s unexhausted love to His people suffered the original Apostles to conciliate their brethren after the flesh to the very utmost verge of conciliation, the Holy Spirit was making His own preparation for the transference of the centre from Jerusalem to Antioch. In the second place, their transitional teaching, of whatever kind, was not allowed to take a permanent form. It was rebuked when in error; it was never committed to writing; it did not take the form of a contradictory announcement found in the same pages with the

truth of the Gospel. And, in the last place, before the apostolical age had run out, and the full apostolical function was discharged, all the Apostles with St. Paul are found of the same mind and in the same place, in the strictest sense of the word, ἐν τῷ αὐτό.

St. Paul's gradual illumination, therefore, as an expositor in writing of the Christian Revelation, is a theory utterly inconsistent with the doctrine which we have gathered from the Scriptures themselves concerning the Holy Spirit's design in the formation of the New Testament. This must not be understood, however, as denying that the final Scriptures could possibly contain a record of processes in the attainment of perfect truth. They do contain much that belongs to a period of transition, and the use of which was not to be eternal: development is found in the narrative—there is historical development; gradual light is seen rising in the darkness of controversy—there is didactic development; and, finally, the developing law is to be traced in the gradual expansion of the bud of truth into its flower and fruit. But never do we find that recorded as truth at one time which at another time is declared to be not truth. *That* kind of development is not conceivable under the supreme supervision of the Holy Spirit;—but *that* is the kind of development which, when all its disguises are torn from it, confronts us in these modern theories. St. Paul is said to have grown gradually into a perfect apprehension of the grace of the Gospel: his view to have become clearer, his faith more simple, and his hold of Christ more evangelical. To refute this, we have adduced his conversion, and testimony concerning it:—but suppose it to be granted. Then St. Paul went forth—after years of spiritual growth—to teach the nations a Gospel thus imperfectly and gradually apprehended. This we have brought the Acts of the Apostles, and the nature of the case, to plead against:—but let even that also be granted. Finally, St. Paul, after another long interval, writes down—as the event has proved, for all ages—the same fluctuating and gradually expanding system; retracting in one Epistle what he had asserted in another, and presenting totally different aspects of the truth to different Churches, which could not for a long time, perhaps never could, collate these differences. Now that the result of all this should correspond with our Saviour's promise of the revealing Spirit to the Apostles, and the Church through them, we can never be brought to believe.

Hitherto, the defensive course of this paper has endeavoured to meet Professor Jowett's argument from the Apostle's own declarations, and the analogy of all God's dealings. It has been shown that St. Paul never made any such admissions as have been interpreted into his words; and that the nature of the case

—or, in other words, God's manifest plan with regard to him, as witnessed by his conversion, his special missionary vocation, and his place among the inspired writers of the Holy Spirit's final teaching—forbids the assumption of his gradual introduction into the mystery of the Gospel. It remains now only to consider the evidence which is brought forward from his Epistles themselves, to prove that his doctrine was not always one and the same. After all that has been said by way of anticipation, this part of our task will not be very difficult. Indeed, the adversary has but a very slender array of forces to bring forward for the support of this part of his assault. Having to do here with simple matter of recorded fact, our labour will not be very great; and, thank God, it will be a labour of love.

Yet it is not purely matter of fact and record with Mr. Jowett: those who know his general character of thought and style, would hardly expect that he should limit himself to the bare interpretation of testimony. Such sentences as the following include such facts as might bear to be pressed into his service; but those facts are presented under the peculiar haze which is the very atmosphere of the modern theology:—

'Such is the general agreement between the extant Epistles of St. Paul and the narrative of the Acts, and such the double basis upon which they rest who think they trace a growth or development in the Apostle's own teaching, and in the circumstances of the Churches. There is a time at which the Apostle is looking for the immediate coming of Christ, which is represented by the First Epistle to the Thessalonians; there is a time when he is aware that "the day of the Lord is not yet," but that other events must come first, as he says in the Second Epistle; there is a time when "he has a desire to depart," (Phil. i. 23,) though willing also to stay. There is a time at which the disputes between Jewish and Gentile Christians are lost in the greater difference between Jew and Christian. (1 Thess. ii. 14, 17.) There is a time at which the fanaticism of the Jewish Christians is violently aroused, and every Church is divided between Jew and Gentile, circumcision and uncircumcision. There is a time at which the strife no more crosses the path of the Apostle, or, perhaps, is temporarily silenced by his retirement from the scene. There is a time in which St. Paul is in the vigour and fire of youth, "speaking boldly, and disputing against the Grecians." There is a time at which he is worn by years and imprisonment, "being such an one as Paul the aged." There is a time at which he says, "If any man preach any other Gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed." (Gal. i. 9.) There is a time when "Some preach Christ of envy and strife. What then? notwithstanding every way, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is preached; and he therein rejoices, yea, and will rejoice." (Phil. i. 15—18.)'

This passage we have selected out of many for quotation, because it really gives the pith of all that Professor Jowett has to say on the subject. The clear-sighted reader will mark that 'those who trace,' or rather 'who think they trace, a growth or development in the Apostle's own teaching,' after all trace that growth only in two particulars,—the doctrine concerning the day of the Lord, and the doctrine concerning the difference between Jew and Christian, or rather, concerning the relations of the law and the Gospel (for on this latter point the argument is more explicit elsewhere). All the rest is simply a matter of the Apostle's variations in personal experience and feeling, having no more to do with St. Paul's 'growth in doctrine,' than with ours. However, though surreptitiously and most unfairly brought into the general argument, it will give us occasion to take a nearer view than we have yet taken of the order and course of the Apostle's writings. And this will set clearly before our minds the distinction between that development of doctrine which modern theology asserts and we deny, and that development in circumstance and accidentals which scarcely needed assertion, being denied by none.

The Voice which gave the Apostle his great commission said nothing about the eternal service which he was to render the Christian cause by his writings. It would be vain, perhaps perilous, to speculate upon the process of his training for this final and lasting fruit of his inspiration. Doubtless, it was impressed upon his mind by that Divine Spirit who ruled his life, that the glorious system of truth—the key of which was given him at his conversion, and the treasures of which were at once and for ever laid open to his view—was by his instrumentality to be enshrined in written words. To him it had been once said, 'I have appeared unto thee for this purpose, to make thee a minister *and* a witness both of these things which thou hast seen, and of those things in the which I will appear unto thee.' And to him, doubtless, as to that other Apostle, it was also said by the same Lord, 'What thou seest write in a book, and send it unto the Churches : ' for in all his Epistles he 'wrote by commandment' what he had 'received of the Lord Jesus.' As to his specific preparation for this work—how his former studies of Divine letters were renewed and sanctified for higher service—we are permitted to know nothing. All is lost but the glorious result,—that noble fruit of all his thoughts and labours of which the Holy Ghost was rather than himself the author, and which has done more to influence the current of human thought and destiny than the labours of any other man.

That result we possess in fourteen Epistles, written during a



period of twenty years—the latter half of the Apostle's public career—and distributed pretty evenly over that period.

Concerning all these Epistles we make bold to affirm—in direct contradiction to the modern theology—that they present, as it respects the essentials of a revelation of Christian doctrine, the very same unchanged type of teaching throughout. And, in perfect consistency with this, we are free to admit that the individual Epistles, and batches of Epistles, have every token of distinctive character in all subordinate matters of style, situation, and treatment. The doctrine is the same: that we must insist upon. Everything else submits to a beautiful and natural order of development.

There was in the Apostle's life itself just such a combination of fixed purpose and variable circumstance as we attribute to, or rather vindicate for, his writings. At the time of his conversion, he was set apart as the Apostle of Christ to the People and to the Gentiles—in fact, to the whole world. Some ten years were spent in full though more private preparation for that high office. During that time he was only the Apostle designate; a variety of circumstances seeming to control his movements, and keep his missionary work in abeyance. His labours in the founding of Churches and in the publication of the Gospel in new regions were spread over another term of about a dozen years: during that time he was engaged in one work, the missionary work of an Apostle, and guided by a fixed plan of the Holy Ghost, though circumstances seemed to vary his labours and shift his position from place to place. His more active labour as the missionary and founder of new Churches was drawing to its conclusion, when he commenced his course of written instruction for the Church of all times. During the time of his unrecorded ministry, the Divine Spirit was preparing him for his sphere, and his sphere for him. When the Apostles of the circumcision had fully accomplished their preliminary mission, and had, so to speak, *gone over the cities of Israel*, he was sent forth thoroughly equipped for his Gentile work. After he had in successive missionary journeys united Asia and Europe by a series of Gospel centres, and had practically tested and studied the application of the Gospel to every conceivable variety of circumstance among the new Churches, then, but not till then, did he begin the final, present and prospective, work of his life,—the teaching of the Church by his Epistles. These also were spread over a term of some twelve or fifteen years—after which the holy Apostle spent a few more supernumerary years upon earth, and the end came.

The Epistles of St. Paul, as a whole, cannot be reduced to a

strict classification. All the attempts which have been made, in the service of various theories, to throw them into chronological clusters, utterly fail. They were not written at distinct intervals of epistolary activity, followed by spaces of cessation; but in one unbroken stream from the beginning of his writing to the Churches down to the end. On the average of the years, one Epistle was the fruit of each twelvemonth; but no year produced more than two. They cannot be distributed under any heads of doctrine, polemics, discipline, practical morality, personal memoir, or the like. All the Epistles contain something which would fall under all these heads. Doctrine is the staple of all of them; modified and intermingled with other elements, according to the character and circumstances of the Church or person addressed. *The truth as it is in Jesus* is the essence of the whole: the *truth as expedient for the receiver* modifies everywhere the form.

The far greater number of the Epistles were written to Churches with which the Apostle was personally acquainted,—Churches which, in fact, he had himself founded; and they were written generally under the pressure of some necessity, the nature of which the Epistles themselves reveal. As might be supposed, therefore, the particular circumstances in these cases give a tone to the communication. But it does not require a very searching examination to detect that there is in all these a centre of Christian doctrine around which all other matters revolve. And if, as in the case of the Thessalonian Epistles, dogmatic statements concerning redemption are comparatively wanting,—that they are wanting altogether is a reckless statement of these modern critics which needs no disproof,—it is to be accounted for by the circumstance that the Apostle's preaching and teaching voice had lately been heard among them, and that the lapse of time had not required that he should give line upon line, and precept upon precept. When years had passed, and other teachers and other influences had had time enough to insinuate themselves,—as in the case of the Colossians, Ephesians, and Philippians,—the Apostle's recapitulation of fundamental doctrines is ample and full. And, even in the case of Churches recently left, if peculiar dangers rendered it necessary,—as in the case of the Corinthians,—the Apostle takes care to give a plain statement of all the leading features of the 'Gospel which he had formerly delivered unto them.' When 'for them it was safe,' to him it was 'not grievous' to write the same things again and again.

It is very possible, however, to concede too much even as to the subordinate variations of feeling and tone which the inspired

Epistles exhibit. And it may not be undesirable to pave the way for an examination of the unity of the Apostle's doctrine by showing that there is a more decided unity pervading the Epistles in these other respects than the modern theory allows. But as this is a very subordinate matter, it must be dealt with cursorily; and we shall content ourselves with showing such minor inconsistencies in Mr. Jowett's statements as may tend to throw suspicion upon his treatment of matters more important.

We have quoted above one passage out of many, describing the times and seasons which mark the Apostle's personal fluctuations in his apprehension of truth and manner of presenting it. For instance: 'there is a time' when he expects the immediate coming of Christ, and 'there is a time' when he is aware that 'the day of the Lord is not yet.' But we find on examination that these two times are in fact one and the same; they are both represented by the first two Epistles, the latter of which followed the former immediately, and was in fact only a fuller explanation of its meaning,—intended to obviate perversion of the Apostle's doctrine, but certainly not intimating that he himself had undergone a change. Again, 'there is a time' when the question of circumcision and uncircumcision divided every Church, and 'there is a time' when the strife no more crosses the Apostle's path, or is temporarily silenced by his retreat. But for this latter 'time' we search through the Epistles in vain: there are evident signs of the contention in all but about two of them; and whether or not St. Paul's 'retreat,' or Roman imprisonment, sheltered him from the strife of tongues, let the two Epistles to the Colossians and Philippians decide. The old fire glows in the Apostle's heart still; it was not quenched when the final Pastorals were written; nor, as far as we can see, did the cause of it ever, or for any interval, cease to vex his righteous soul. Again, 'there was a time' when St. Paul was in the vigour of youth, 'speaking boldly, and disputing against the Grecians;' and there was a time when he was worn by age and confinement, 'being such an one as Paul the aged.' This cannot be denied; but its subtle contribution to the argument may be arrested. There was never 'a time' when St. Paul's defence of the Gospel trembled or was paralysed through age; there was never a time when his soul yielded to the pressure of malignant opposition, and in hopeless weariness committed the cause to God and younger men; there was never a time when he sank into lassitude, and gave up the strain of bold opposition to error with which he set out. Mr. Jowett further compares Gal. i. 9 with Phil. i. 15-18,—whether with an insidious purpose we can

hardly say, but certainly with no advantage to his argument. It is true that St. Paul in the former passage gives to the curse all who preached another Gospel,—plain proof, by the way, that he could never have varied his own,—while in the latter he seems to acquiesce in the preaching of Christ by every kind of preacher, and whether in pretence or truth. But, if the Apostle found some matter of rejoicing in the diffusion of the One Name, that does not imply that he relaxed or repealed his former imprecation. What he still felt towards these 'evil workers' let the remainder of the same Epistle show: the holy anger and contempt and tears with which he assails these 'dogs' of the 'concision' who were the 'enemies of the cross of Christ,' denote no such change as this theory delights to depict.

The same laxity marks all the other instances of Mr. Jowett's collation of antitheses in St. Paul's doctrine and manner of teaching it. But we shall content ourselves with a passing observation or two upon the more precise arrangement which he gives us of St. Paul's writings, as marking three separate stages of his development. Space fails us for long quotation; and we must therefore collect as well as we can the meaning of our critic, and give it with honest fidelity in our own way. First, then, we have the Pauline threshold-doctrine—represented by the Epistles to the Thessalonians. Then comes the dogmatic and polemical teaching—represented by the Galatians, Corinthians, Romans. Lastly, we have the perfected—or rather idealized—doctrine of the calm Imprisonment Epistles. If the reader asks for the Pastorals and the Hebrews, we can only say, that Mr. Jowett does not embarrass his theory with the consideration of them. The following sentence (on the Pastorals) will partly, but not entirely, explain why: 'Some objections of chronology are escaped by assigning the three Epistles to different periods of the Apostle's life; but new ones grounded on style appear. Those who feel that these Epistles cannot be wholly genuine, and are convinced that they are not entirely spurious, may have recourse to the theory of interpolation. The relation which exists between the Epistle of Jude and the Second Epistle of Peter, is a sufficient proof that such interpolation is possible. But it would be vain for criticism to attempt a separation of the genuine and interpolated elements. Only, while objections are raised against them, which receive no satisfactory answer, it is safer not to make use of these Epistles for the proof of any fact or the establishment of any doctrine.'

But to return; we shall make a few closing remarks upon this triple division of the presentation of St. Paul's doctrine; or rather upon the relation which the first and last series bear to

the central series. And if these remarks are barely suggestive and more condensed than the importance of the subject requires, the reader must impute it to no other cause than the restraint of our present limits.

The two Epistles to the Thessalonians have in this theory the singular honour of representing a distinct class; no other document bearing the Apostle's 'token' can fairly be ranked with them; they stand alone in their immaturity. That solitary position they win by what they omit of the common elements of St. Paul's general doctrine, and by what they contain inconsistent with that common element. They omit the grand questions of circumcision, of faith and works, of Jew and Gentile, of union with the mystical body of Christ, of death unto life, of the revelation of the mystery of ages,—in fact, all the great themes which characterize St. Paul's writings. Instead of all these, they are occupied with the immediate advent of Christ, and with that which let the coming of Antichrist. Hence 'the Gospel which he preached in both Epistles might be described, not as the Gospel of the Cross of Christ, but of the Coming of Christ.' That difference of doctrine is accounted for in this theory by the enlargement of the Apostle's views; and this again is stated to have been the result, partly of prayerful meditation, and partly of nearer contact with Alexandrian philosophy during the four years' interval—spent as it was in the three most cultivated cities of the world, Athens, Corinth, and Ephesus. But, however accounted for, it is thought impossible to conceive that St. Paul, when he wrote to the Thessalonians, could have known, and yet kept back, what he was afterwards commissioned to reveal; or that, when he wrote to the Romans and Galatians, he could have retained, and nevertheless withheld, what formerly was 'the substance of his teaching.' All this is 'hard to suppose;' but hard as it is, the supposition—even as here artfully put—is infinitely easier and more natural than the suppositions which are brought in to explain the difficulty.

And first for the omissions. Hard indeed it is to suppose either that the Apostle was not yet far enough advanced to unfold the series of subjects which are here found wanting, or that he would 'purposely reserve and keep them back.' Neither of these suppositions has the shadow of a foundation. There is not one of the 'characteristic themes' of St. Paul's teaching which is not more or less distinctly traceable in the first Epistle that he ever wrote. Certainly, we do not find any polemical reference to the law; or any allusion to the mystery hid from ages and generations; or any argumentative assertion of justification by faith. But we do find the glad tidings of redemption

by the death of Christ ; and faith in that Gospel as bringing the full assurance of the Spirit, and followed by the mighty operation of Divine grace, and leading to entire sanctification. Now, where the redeeming death of Christ, and faith in the Gospel message, and the work of love in holiness, are set forth, we have all the essentials of St. Paul's doctrine. It needed not that he should enter on other topics, when writing to a people whom he had lately left, and whom he had left under the care of those instructed pastors who are referred to in the end of the Epistle. But there is no such omission as implies defect on the Apostle's part. There was, indeed, an 'absorbing thought' in his mind—the glory of the promised Coming of Christ ; but this was no more absorbing then than it always was. Certainly, it did not engross the writer's mind to the exclusion of questions of direct practical moment. It was absorbing, because circumstances in the Thessalonian Church rendered it such ; it was so absorbing as to give a character to the Epistles ; but, after it had received its due treatment, the Apostle passes on to the same style of practical exhortation which we find in the rest of his writings.

Secondly, let us consider the superfluous element which was afterwards retrenched. Here, again, it would be very 'hard to suppose' that a doctrine which is stated so fully by the Apostle as to warrant its being called the 'substance of his preaching,' could have been in after times withheld and kept in abeyance, or tacitly renounced. Such a grand retraction as this would be inconceivable. We should naturally expect that the Coming of Christ, which shed such glory upon the First Epistles, would, more or less, irradiate all the rest. Any one who should read St. Paul's writings in order for the first time, must, indeed, take it for granted that the Day of the Lord's Advent would be a subject more or less emphatically recurring throughout his writings—so marked is its prominence at the outset. Were it true that the later Epistles withheld the substance of his first preaching concerning the Christ and the Antichrist,—the progress and maturity of evil, and the final Advent of the Redeemer,—we should most assuredly be obliged to confess that our cause is hopeless, and that we strive without profit to maintain the unity of the Apostle's doctrine.

But it is not true. If the Thessalonian Epistles contain a Gospel of the Coming of Christ, so do all the rest. The Gospel of the Cross is also the Gospel of the Kingdom and Coming. Throughout all St. Paul's writings, as, indeed, throughout all the New Testament, the *Day of Christ* is the glorious, undefined future of the Church. It is to the corporate living company of the redeemed the one fixed term and goal of all



aspiration. Death to the individual may intervene; but the Church never dies. It waits, has always waited, and will always wait till He come,—looking for the appearing of the Lord Jesus. With not more than one exception, St. Paul's Epistles most expressly make all lines of doctrine, exhortation, and hope find their vanishing-point in that great Day—the coming of which is not regarded as having respect to time.

It is undoubtedly true that the Coming of Christ—with all its glorious and terrible concomitants—occupies a peculiarly prominent place in the Epistles to the Thessalonians. It is true that the growth and consummation and destruction of the Man of Sin is there once for all described. And it is true that the Apostle seems, in the former of the Two Epistles, to exhibit the Coming of the Lord as immediately near, while in the latter he postpones it to some period more or less distant in the future. But there is nothing in this which in any way disparages the consistency of the Apostle, or the unity of his doctrine. In all his Epistles he contemplates the Coming of Christ as close at hand; and in all his Epistles he writes of a work which is first to be done in the world. The real question is not St. Paul's change of doctrine; but that pervading characteristic of the New Testament, which combines the perpetual nearness of Christ's advent with prophecy of the Church's work in the world. This mysterious combination of two seemingly opposite views reigns throughout the New Testament. It appears first in our Lord's final discourses. It is stamped upon the preaching of the Acts, and it gives its peculiarity to all St. Paul's writings. In the Epistle to the Romans 'the day is at hand,' and yet the 'fulness of the Gentiles is to be brought in.' In the Epistle to the Corinthians they 'wait for the coming of the Lord,' and yet 'He must reign till all enemies are under His feet.' In the Epistle to the Philippians the 'day of Christ' is the goal of their finished perseverance, and yet the Apostle's desire was to 'depart and be with Christ;' and so on to the end of his Epistles, and to the Epistles of St. Peter and St. John, till the Apocalypse opens up the mystery to all who have eyes to see.

We must now turn to the final cluster of the Epistles—those of the Imprisonment—which are represented as giving us the Apostle's serene and perfected views of truth. It is hard to discover what gain is derived to Mr. Jowett's theory from a collation of these Epistles with the polemical Epistles. But he thinks he finds plain marks of growth and enlargement; in fact, the difference between the two classes of Epistles is as certain in 'kind,' though not as great in 'degree,' as the

difference between the Romans or Galatians and the Thessalonians. Far be it from us to impute evil where evil is not, or to strain subtle hints to their full conclusion. But the general impression which our author appears to us to aim to produce is this,—that St. Paul, in his later and sequestered writings, modified and softened and idealized his doctrine; that, in fact, much of what the polemical Epistles had added to his first teaching was again thrown aside,—a gentler and more unclouded view of Christianity being the result.

The reader will judge by the brief summary which we shall now give in our own words of the differences supposed to be exhibited in the Prison-Epistles. St. Paul is represented as another man when shut out from the scene of conflict; and to have entered into rest, no more to be ruffled by the current of human affairs. Being released from the incessant conflicts with Jews and false brethren, he naturally sees everything with a different eye, and writes in a very different strain. The new relations of things have now adjusted themselves in a Divine order, 'no longer as the elements of controversy, but as parts of the whole counsel of God.' The Church now fills his mind, as 'an habitation of God through the Spirit.' He sits now in heavenly places with his converts. The powers of good and evil seem idealized to him; 'he sees the communities among which his life had been spent at a distance, more as they ought to have been, less as they actually were.' His wrestling is now with the powers of another world. He enters now into more full communion with Christ. The conflict of the law no more stirs in him: he is dead and risen with Christ, and translated into His kingdom. Circumcision and all other ordinances are ready to vanish away, 'and the person of Christ Himself seems to assume, not a more intimate relation to the individual soul, but a more universal relation to mankind and to the world.'

Such are the traces of change in 'the type of doctrine' which St. Paul's Imprisonment-Epistles present to us. He 'rests in the person of Christ,' but all things else—all things concerning Christ and the preaching of His Gospel—underwent a marked variation. But, whatever may be the ulterior conclusion left to be drawn with regard to what was the final type of the Apostle's serene and cloudless Gospel, the view here given is to a great extent unreal. This may be shown by a rapid glance at the testimony of the two several classes of Epistles themselves.

And, first, many of the traits which are brought from the Prison-Epistles to mark the Apostle's deeper insight and more interior religion, are equally marked and prominent in the earlier Epistles—scarcely excluding the immature Thessalonians them-

selves. Union with Christ, conformity to His death and life, crucifixion with Him, and all the sacred mysteries of fellowship with the Redeemer, are quite as profoundly treated in the Epistles to the Galatians and the Romans as in the Epistles to the Colossians and the Philippians. Those more interior recesses of the Divine life were not first opened to the Apostle's gaze and attainment at the end of his career; nor do they indicate a period when the Gospel which he preached had passed beyond its rudimentary stages of forensic justification and imputation of righteousness to faith. So also the image of the spiritual Church as the body of Christ, and the universal relation of Jesus to the race of man, are as clearly perceived, and almost as fully presented, in the Epistles to the Corinthians and Romans as they are in the Epistle to the Ephesians.

And, secondly, these Prison-Epistles themselves do not portray the Apostle as so very different a man, and as so very different a teacher. They do not present him to us as having reached a sublime and cloudless region of repose: the fightings and the fears are as abundant almost as ever. Did he ever exhibit a more sympathizing interest in the internal conflicts of the Churches when 'near' to them, than that which, when 'distant' from them, he exhibits in the internal affairs of the Philippians and Colossians? Does the Philippian Epistle describe one who is no longer affected by controversy, who no longer wrestles with human enemies, and who is in a region which 'evil workers' and 'dogs' can no longer invade? But we hope to make these 'Prison-Epistles' subject of separate consideration at some future time. Suffice it now to say, that they do not furnish evidence of St. Paul's 'type of doctrine' having undergone any essential change, or any change at all. Changes in himself they do most affectingly exhibit; and numberless lesser tokens they yield of the glorifying influence of his glorious Gospel upon his own mind, and heart, and spirit. But they give no proof whatever that if any or all of his 'parchments' had been brought to him in his 'hired house' at Rome, he would have erased or modified one line that he had ever written.

To us there is in the New Testament one Paul, preaching one Gospel. We receive all his writings, with all things hard in them to understand, as forming one great and consistent system of truth. It is a system compact and at unity within itself; a system upon all the leading verities of which St. Paul himself, in his last days, stamped the seal of his final assurance, *This is a Faithful Saying*.

And here we must rather abruptly conclude, though not

before the task which we had prescribed is done. It has been the purpose of this paper simply to endeavour to negative the theory that St. Paul's writings exhibit, and declare themselves to exhibit, a gradual change of doctrine. To show the unity of his doctrine in itself has not been our main object, and has been only subordinatedly kept in view. And it scarcely need be said that the still higher questions which these volumes raise, as to agreement of St. Paul's writings with the other books of the New Testament, and with the teaching of the Christian Church, have not been touched at all. These questions would involve an examination of the entire system of Modern Rationalist Theology,—an examination which, however important in itself, has formed no part of our present design.

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ART. II.—1. *Studies of Contemporary History.* [*La Belgique sous le Règne de Leopold I. Etudes de l'Histoire contemporaine.*] By J. J. THONISSEN, Professor of the University of Louvain. Four Volumes. 12mo. Liège. 1855–1858.

2. *Statistical and Historical Annual of Belgium.* By DR. AUGUSTUS SCHELER, Librarian of H.M. the King of the Belgians. Seven Volumes. 12mo. 1850–1860. [*Annuaire Statistique et Historique Belge.* Par AUG. SCHELER, Dr. Phil., Bibliothécaire du Roi des Belges, et Professeur agrégé à L'Université de Liège, Chevalier des Ordres de Leopold, du Christ, et de la Saxe-Ernestine. Septième Année. 1860. Bruxelles et Leipzig.]

THE Revolution which, on the bloody days of September, 1830, violated the political settlement of the Congress of Vienna in achieving the independence of Belgium, had crowned its work by the adoption of a fundamental Charter framed by the leading men of the country in the absence of all dynastic influence, and providing the amplest guarantees for personal and national liberty; the diplomatists of the five Great Powers had recognised this act as an accomplished fact in taking upon themselves to fix the basis of the separation of the two kingdoms of Belgium and Holland; an enlightened Prince, matured by long intimacy with the constitutional government of Great Britain, had, notwithstanding the distrust of the absolutist courts, and the open hostility of the Netherlands and of part of Belgium itself, accepted the sceptre offered by the Deputies of the National Assembly, and prepared to exchange his retreat at Claremont for the cares of a kingship altogether new; the Regent of Belgium, Baron Surlet de Chokier, was about to administer the

oath of allegiance to the Constitution of the country to the Monarch of its choice, and to commit to his hands the reins of power, when, on that auspicious day, the 21st of July, 1831, under the portico of the church of St. James at Brussels, Leopold uttered these memorable words: 'Gentlemen, I have accepted the crown which you have offered to me, only with a view to fulfil a task equally noble and useful,—that of being called to consolidate the institutions and to maintain the independence of a free and generous people. My heart knows no other ambition than that of seeing you happy.'

'I must, in this touching solemnity, express to you one of my most ardent wishes. The nation is issuing from a violent crisis. May this day efface all hatreds, stifle all resentments! May one sole thought animate all Belgians,—that of a frank and sincere union!'

'Gentlemen, I hope that in me you will have a pledge of peace and tranquillity; but the anticipations of man are not infallible. If notwithstanding all sacrifices for the preservation of peace we were to be menaced with war, I should not hesitate to appeal to the courage of the Belgian people; and I hope it would rally unanimously around its chief in defence of the country and of national independence.'

Twenty-nine years have elapsed since this inauguration speech was delivered; the severest trials have passed over Europe and await it still. Thrones new and old have been shaken or overthrown; social theories hitherto unknown have appeared and vanished; but the Belgians still enjoy peacefully and appreciate increasingly the benefits of the work completed in 1830. Their liberties remain intact, their prosperity is daily augmenting, and the national sentiment is strengthening constantly under the auspices of the Prince who has so nobly redeemed his royal word, pledged at his accession, to respect the Constitution, and to devote himself to the happiness of the nation.

At the present day Europe, once so incredulous as to the stability of the new order of things, admires and respects alike the nation thus steadily advancing, and the Monarch whose wisdom has averted the dangers, foreign and domestic, that menaced his throne and dynasty. Recent circumstances have served to exhibit to surrounding nations, in the clearest light, the intimate union between the throne and the people, and the firm resolve of both to preserve entire the institutions conquered at the price of blood in 1830. Certain French journalists have pertinaciously striven to create doubts of the perpetuity of the Belgian nationality, to question the attachment of the country to a dynasty chosen at the close of a revolution, and thus to

prepare men's minds imperceptibly for the destruction of its independence by means of annexation to a great and powerful State which assumes to lead the march of modern civilization, and to confer on bordering nations the blessings of its *régime*. It is well known how promptly and unequivocally Belgium, as one man, repudiated the wily insinuations of this ill-advised press. The year 1860 has witnessed a continuous succession of earnest protests from all the political and municipal bodies against any change in the state of things established for thirty years past;—of spontaneous addresses of devotedness to the reigning family from people of all ranks, and not least hearty and outspoken those from the working classes;—and of fêtes and ovations in every province of the kingdom in honour of Leopold, whose name is hailed by the Belgian as the symbol of the strength, prosperity, and honour of his nation. The present moment therefore is not ill-chosen to cast a retrospective glance at the political, moral, and material development of Belgium since 1830, and to bring into relief the situation of the country in this triple point of view, taking chiefly as our guides the works whose titles are prefixed to this article.

Scarcely had Leopold taken his oath and formed a ministry, (consisting of Messrs. Mulenaere, Charles de Brouckère, Raikem, Coghen, de Failly, and, without portfolio, Messrs. Lebeau, de Theux, and de Mérode,) when, on the 2nd of August, the Prince of Orange, disregarding the suspension of arms guaranteed by the five Powers, and designing to take Belgium by surprise, suddenly crossed the frontiers of Limbourg with an army of 40,000 men. This campaign of the month of August, in which the invading force was encountered with an army scarcely organized and unprovided with the necessary munitions of war, furnished the head of the State with an opportunity of making proof of his military talent and prowess; but it had an unfortunate issue for the Belgians. It was only in consequence of the diplomatic intervention of Great Britain, and through the military intervention of the French government, which sent across the frontiers an army of 40,000 men, that the Dutch beat a retreat, after signing an armistice on the evening of the 12th of August. The ill success of this campaign failed, indeed, to discourage the Belgians, but it gave rise to violent disputes and recriminations between opposite parties. Happily it proved a powerful stimulant in redoubling the activity of the Belgian government in the organization of its army. The political consequence of this check was the untoward Protocol of the Conference of London, which was destined to occupy diplomatists for a series of years, under the denomination of the Treaty of Twenty-four



Articles. Instead of punishing Holland for the infraction of the rights of nations of which she had been guilty, this Treaty, ignoring to a great extent the arrangements sanctioned by the eighteen Articles appended to the Protocol of the 26th of June, 1831, stipulates for signal advantages in favour of the aggressor. The Treaty of Eighteen Articles, the acceptance of which by Belgium had determined Prince Leopold to yield to the wish of the country, and which was considered as constituting the preliminaries of a definitive peace, having been rejected by Holland, new negotiations had to be entered upon, in which the check suffered by the Belgians exercised a notable influence. These negotiations ended in the Treaty of the Twenty-four Articles, by which Limbourg, on the right bank of the Meuse, and German Luxembourg, were adjudged to King William, and Belgium was saddled with the payment of an annual interest charge of 8,400,000 florins (£708,960 sterling) to Holland, for her part of the national debt. The maintenance of a perpetual neutrality, under guarantee of the Great Powers, was almost the only thing left standing of the first Treaty. Notwithstanding, aroused by this sudden change in the tactics of diplomacy, this onerous Treaty after stormy debates was accepted by the Chamber of Representatives on the 1st of November, by fifty-nine votes against thirty-eight. This adhesion to the Treaty was to imply the formal recognition of King Leopold by the Five Powers; and it goes far to explain the sacrifice that Belgium imposed upon herself. But out of favour to King William, who peremptorily refused his assent to the Treaty framed by the Conference, the absolute governments of Russia and Prussia deferred the exchange of their ratifications until the month of May; and farther, contrary to all the rules followed in this matter, they accompanied it with reservations exclusively favourable to the cause of the King of Holland. This one-sided and disingenuous policy of the old courts of the Continent towards a State which was the offspring of a revolution, greatly irritated the Belgians; the conduct observed by the Belgian plenipotentiary in presence of these diplomatic tergiversations was bitterly criticized in the National Chambers. On the 14th of May an address to the King was voted unanimously, containing a decided protest against the legality of these reservations, and insisting upon the frank execution of the letter of the Treaty, in spite of the refusal of Holland. The King replied to the deputation that his views coincided entirely with those of the Parliament, and added, 'The surest means of arriving promptly at a solution of the difficulties still existing is to convince Europe that Belgium remains jealous of her ancient reputation, and

that, by combining prudence with firmness, she will be able with the help of Providence to maintain her rights, if needs be, by force of arms.' Ultimately the ratifications with the obnoxious reservations were not disallowed; but the Belgian representatives (General Goblet having been associated with M. Van de Weyer) were instructed to require the evacuation of the citadel of Antwerp, and of the forts on the Scheldt, as a preliminary condition of the resumption of ulterior negotiations on some secondary points.

The Dutch, however, continued to occupy the citadel of Antwerp; and the European diplomatists, so far from concerting the means of obtaining the consent of William I. by force of arms, seemed to wish to extort from Belgium new concessions to the advantage of Holland. Abandoned to themselves, the Belgians saw no other means of extrication from this prolonged crisis than war. In the imposing ceremony which took place on the 27th of September, 1832, in the Place Royale at Brussels, for the purpose of distributing flags to the Belgian communes (parishes) which had sent help to the combatants of the capital during the days of September, 1830, this warlike impatience broke out fiercely. The King on that occasion appeared in public, having for the first time at his side Queen Louise, daughter of Louis Philippe, who had become his wife on the 9th of August preceding; and his speech responded fully to the martial ardour of the people. In fact, the country had good reason to be impatient of the obstacles interposed by the courts to the execution of the Treaty of the 15th of November. Amidst the struggles of parties and the stagnation of affairs it longed to have an end put to this onerous *status quo*. At length came a Convention between France and England. Military measures, sanctioned by the Powers, in virtue and in the name of the Treaty of the Twenty-four Articles, were taken against Holland in order to force her to open the Scheldt. England blockaded the Dutch coast; a French army, about 65,000 strong, commanded by Marshal Gerard, the two elder sons of the King of the French serving under him, laid siege to the citadel of Antwerp. After the capitulation of that place the French retired, and the Belgians took possession of the conquered posts. Nevertheless, the enemy still closed the river at Flushing. Belgian and foreign diplomatists were foiled by the difficulties raised by the Dutch court. The irritation of the Chambers was extreme. They eagerly urged resort to force. But the King, faithful to the engagements entered into with the Conference, proceeded to dissolve his Parliament on the 28th of April, 1833, in order to keep open the channel for negotiations.

These latter, conducted with sagacity and skill, brought about at length a preliminary Treaty between England, France, and Holland, dated 31st of May, 1833, in virtue of which the coercive measures towards Holland ceased; Belgium and Holland were declared neutrals, and the Scheldt was opened. All other points of the Treaty to which King William had not agreed were left in abeyance. Meanwhile, the Dutch frontiers remained impassable to the Belgians, and direct communication was not permitted until 1835. This diplomatic success reconciled the new Parliament with the Goblet ministry, which, thanks to the firmness of the King, still held its ground.

The first cares of the Belgian Legislature, on emerging from the revolution, and reviewing the sad result of the campaign of August, 1831, were devoted to the organization of the army. So effective were the measures of the government under the intelligent and energetic impulsion of M. Charles de Brouckère, then minister of War, (deceased in the spring of 1860, as burgo-master of Brussels,) that at the period of the siege of Antwerp the country had more than 100,000 men under arms. A law of the 22nd of September, 1831, empowered the King to take into the Belgian service such a number of foreign officers as he deemed necessary for the good of the army. Thereupon several highly qualified French officers were admitted into the army and engaged in organizing the different branches of the service; one of these foreign generals, M. Evain, after having obtained full naturalization, succeeded M. de Brouckère as head of the war department, which he held until August, 1836.

In accordance with the definitive organization of the army, decreed in 1845, the military force in time of peace consists of 40,000 men; on its war footing, it consists of 80,000, which may be carried to 100,000. The recruiting is by voluntary enrolment and annual levies, the number of which is fixed by law. All the inhabitants who, on the 1st of January in each year, have attained the age of nineteen, are subject to ballot. Those who draw a number higher than that required for each commune are exempted from service. The term of military service is for eight years, of which two, at the most, are passed under arms. The Belgian infantry numbers sixteen regiments; consisting of one regiment of carabineers, two of chasseurs, one of grenadiers, and twelve of the line. The cavalry is composed of seven regiments, of which two are cuirassiers, one of guides, two of lancers, and two of chasseurs. The artillery comprises a staff and four regiments, each having four or five mounted batteries and six siege batteries; the engineers, a staff and one regiment. The number of lieutenant-generals (commanders of divisions) in

active service is nine; that of major-generals (commanders of brigades) is eighteen.

The second task to which the Belgian Chambers had to devote themselves, amidst the excitement and anxieties of diplomatic negotiations, was the organization of the judicial power in conformity with the provisions of the fundamental law. These provisions are in substance the following. No tribunal can be established except in virtue of a law. There is for the whole kingdom a Court of Cassation. It does not take cognizance of the subject-matter of cases brought before it, but only of the judicial proceedings, and the judgments thereupon. The members are nominated by the King from two double lists presented to him, one by the senate and the other by the Court of Cassation itself. The jury is employed in all criminal affairs, in political delinquencies, and in offences of the press. The justices of the peace and the judges of the tribunals are directly nominated by the King for life, and are irremovable. There are three Courts of Appeal,—at Brussels, Ghent, and Liège; the members are nominated by the King from two double lists presented, the one by these courts, and the other by the provincial councils. The King names and revokes the officers of the public ministry attached to the courts,—procurator and attorney-general; and those attached to the tribunals,—King's procurator (*procureur du Roi*). The hearings of the tribunals are public. Every judgment has its reasons stated.

The commerce and industry of the Belgian provinces, under the sceptre of the House of Orange, had been largely developed, especially in the later years of that rule. The flax and cotton mills of Ghent, the coal mines and iron works of Hainault and Liège, the cloth manufactures of Verviers, river and maritime navigation, and the traffic of the port of Antwerp, had all made immense progress during this period. It will be readily seen that the separation from Holland, depriving the country of the markets of the Northern Province and of the Dutch Colonies, occasioned general discouragement and serious derangement in business matters. Works and factories were closed, labour in the coal mines greatly restricted, commercial transactions suspended; capital disappeared from circulation; thousands of workmen out of employ filled the public squares, ready for any excesses. Hence the partisans of Orangeism were most numerous in the centres of commerce and industry. It required all the energy of the national character, and all the prudence of the statesmen, to triumph over these difficulties, and to silence the loud complaints against the revolution, and to put down the exaggerations current as to the actual state of affairs. The country,

and especially the cities, made great sacrifices to provide employment, and to face the most pressing necessities. Ere long facts put an end to the complaints, and falsified the sinister predictions, of the malcontents. In spite of the invasion of 1831, and the occupation by the Dutch of the banks of the Scheldt, industrial labour and commercial traffic rapidly resumed much of their wonted activity. In 1831 the exports amounted to 96½ millions of francs, and the imports to 98 millions. At the close of the following year, the former amounted to 111 millions and the latter to 233 millions; the same increase took place in navigation. In 1831, 354 ships arrived at Antwerp, and 602 at Ostend. In 1852, 1265 ships visited Antwerp and 922 Ostend. With such results before them the Belgians were able to await the future with confidence.

This confidence was not deceived, as will be seen from a succinct sketch of the onward movement of the commerce of Belgium. From the summary given in the sixth volume of Dr. Scheler's valuable *Annuaire*, we find that the imports, which in 1836 amounted to 187 millions of francs, in 1857 reached the sum of 393 millions; showing an increase of 110 per cent. Taking the European and extra-European products apart, the proportion of increase is severally 34 per cent. on the former and 234 per cent. on the latter. As to the exports, they rose in the same interval from 145 millions to 450 millions, being an augmentation of 211 per cent. in what relates to the transactions with Europe, (from 139 to 399 millions,) and of 914 per cent. for the exportation to countries out of Europe (from 5 millions to 51). In these amounts goods in transit are not included. Taking together the import and export of goods received or forwarded by Belgium, as well as those entered into bonded warehouse or in transit, it will appear that the progress realized in this period of twenty-two years is 335 per cent., being an average increase of 15 per cent. per annum. In the short space from 1853 to 1859, the foreign commerce (notwithstanding the commotions which agitated Europe during that period) shows an advance, looking only at the exports by land, from 416 to 523 millions, or 25 per cent. This extension, although mainly owing to the well-directed activity of industry, is due also to the ameliorations introduced into the political economy of the country, and to the liberal tendency of the customs system.

The *status quo*, settled by the convention of May 21st, 1833, in ridding the government of the anxieties of diplomacy to a great degree, left it free to direct its efforts to the development of the trading interests, and the improvement of the indus-

trial and commercial interests of the country so rudely shaken by the revolution. The long agitated question of the establishment of a great iron railway connecting the chief centres of the country with each other, and Belgium itself with Germany and England, was now to receive its solution. On the 19th of June, 1833, M. Rogier, minister of the interior, brought into the Chamber of Representatives a bill for the construction of a railway from Antwerp to Verviers through Malines, Louvain, Tirlemont, and Liège; with branches from Malines to Brussels and Ostend. The essential object of the government was, by means of another line of road, to replace the communications between the Scheldt and the Rhine, stopped by Holland. It was a bold step for a country, itself placed at that moment in an anomalous position, neither at peace nor at war, burdened with the exigencies of an enormous military establishment, and undermined continually by the intrigues of the Orange party, to be the first on the Continent to devote millions to the construction of a vast system of railways. 'It was,' says M. Thonissen, 'an admirable sign of vitality that she exhibited to monarchical Europe.' Besides creating new elements of wealth, the railway, uniting the centres of population, was destined to consolidate the young nationality by bringing nearer to each other all parts of the country. The project of the government was extended farther by the Chambers, and carried after long debates by fifty-six votes against twenty-eight, on the 28th of March, 1834. On the 5th of May, 1835, the line from Malines was opened for goods and passengers,—just a quarter of a century ago. Let us glance at the development of railway establishments in Belgium during this interval.

On the 1st of January, 1860, the total length of lines open for traffic in Belgium was 1714 kilometres (about 1065 miles); of this 745 kilometres were worked by the government, and 969 by companies. All the principal places of the provinces are connected with each other and with the capital, and little remains to be added to the vast network of railways with which the country is covered. The expenditure of the first establishment of the state railways amounted at the end of 1859 to nearly 192 millions of francs, of which 130 relate to the railway, properly speaking. On the 31st of December, the expense of construction per kilometre (about 1093 yards) of road averaged 336,325 francs, (£13,453), of which 22,900 were for the rail and buildings. The net receipts of 1859 were equal to  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the capital invested. Such a result is indeed most satisfactory. Thus it is as the burgomaster of Antwerp declared at the fête of the 1st of May, 1859, in commemoration of the law for the establishment



of railways: 'The construction of our railways has reassured Europe as to the future stability of Belgium: we have, in fact, thereby proved that we are an earnest people, jealous of our liberties, but not less solicitous for the progress to be realized by order and labour, those indispensable guarantees of the peace and welfare of nations; that, instead of being a cause of trouble and embarrassment to our neighbours, we desire in concert with them to contribute our part to the development of all those elements of prosperity which constitute true civilization.'

The law respecting railways was scarcely promulgated when a most deplorable event occurred to stain the annals of the new kingdom. On the 6th of April, 1834, masses of the people pillaged the mansions of several proprietors who were notorious as adherents of the Orange party, and, from sympathy with the dispossessed Royal Family, had affixed their names to a list of subscriptions for the redemption of the horses of the Prince of Orange, which, with the other moveable property of the Dutch royal family in Belgium, had been placed under sequestration. The government of the time being has been accused of irresolution in the face of these excesses. But an attentive examination of the history of that disgraceful day clearly shows how unfounded is the imputation. On the contrary, it is to the prompt measures of the ministers, and to the firm and resolute attitude of the King, who went personally into the midst of the mobs, that the cessation of pillage is to be ascribed. The government successfully vindicated its conduct in this matter from the reproaches cast upon it by the opposition both in Parliament and through the press. The responsibility for these outrages attaches in truth to the machinations of Orangeism, and to the sordid and cynical attacks of its journals. In consequence of these disorders, a law was passed for the repression of the manifestations of the Orange party, and the expulsion of several foreigners connected with the editorship of their journals.

The two principal ministers of the cabinet formed in 1832, Messrs. Rogier and Lebeau, having for personal reasons tendered their resignation, the King appointed his third cabinet on the 4th of August, 1834, confiding the department of Foreign Affairs to M. De Meulenaer, and that of the Interior to Count de Theux. With these two ministers, both of the Catholic party, were associated the Baron d'Huart, as minister of Finance, and M. Ernest, minister of Justice; General Evain retained the portfolio of War. This cabinet, with certain modifications, held office until August, 1840. It was under its administration that the political and governmental union of Catholics and Liberals, an union which had created and facilitated the revolution, and

had framed the admirable fundamental Charter, entitled 'the Belgian Constitution,' received its first shock. It had been shaken, indeed, in the region of journalism since the morrow of the revolution, and was sustained artificially in government quarters, in view of the dangers which threatened from without, and the little stability in the state of affairs within.

When, in 1814, William the First was put in possession of the government of the Netherlands, the Belgian bishops declared open war against the principles of liberty of conscience and equal protection to all religious communions, as they were inscribed in the fundamental law of the new kingdom. They rejected them, as contrary to the law of God, to Catholic tradition, and to the rights of the Church. This resistance continued throughout the whole reign of William, and was shared in by a great part of the inhabitants of the Southern Provinces. The King persisted none the less in the application of the liberal, that is to say, anti-ultramontane, principles of the fundamental law. He impressed especially on public education a direction altogether opposed to the pretensions of the Catholic Church. Thus it was that the grievances of the zealous friends of the Church were multiplied year by year, in consequence of the administrative measures of the government in the matters of public worship and education. In so far as the system pursued by the Protestant administration of William restrained the influence of the clergy, the professors of the philosophical doctrines of the eighteenth century, the Liberals, in a word, were perfectly agreed with the cabinet; nevertheless they did not like the Dutch government, and manœuvred in their turn against the administration. They alleged against it the favours lavished on the Dutch; its partiality in appointments to public offices; its successive infringements on the liberty of the press; the suppression of judicial guarantees; the vicious distribution of taxation; and the requiring a knowledge of the Dutch language in all candidates for employment in the service of the administration. Their opposition to the government became more and more active, and quite as implacable as that of the Catholics; but it was the less efficient and formidable, inasmuch as their hostility towards the pretensions of the clergy, whether manifested through the press or in the two Chambers of the States-General, turned to the profit of their ministerial adversaries. This situation was a false one, it had an end. The animosity with which the two fractions of the national party contended with each other was insensibly moderated; a change took place in the two camps, and in the end a spirit of mutual toleration prevailed. The Catholics especially, under the influence of the ideas of M. de Lamennais, came to

comprehend the danger of the modern theory which assigned to cabinet ministers, party men, the exclusive direction of the ideas and beliefs of youth. They ended by adopting into their programme freedom of instruction, freedom of the press, and liberty of association, so warmly contested at the commencement of the Dutch régime. The definitive approximation between Catholics and Liberals to combat a government odious to both speedily followed; they were blended in 1824 in that great party, 'the Union,' which brought about the revolution of September, and which, six months later, endowed Belgium with the most liberal constitution in Europe.

Out of the two hundred members composing the constituent assembly, called the National Congress, one hundred and forty belonged ostensibly to the Catholic party; the rest, excepting a small fraction of exclusive Liberals, were Liberals, avowed partisans of the Union. Notwithstanding their numerical preponderance, the Catholics were found to associate with them in voting for the largest and most generous principles, in favour of the development of liberty in every thing and for all. Far from demanding, as in 1814, that the clergy should be constituted a distinct order, they decreed that there should be no distinction of orders in the State. (Art. VI. of the Belgian Constitution.) They did not shrink from the proclamation of the unlimited liberty of religious bodies and of their public worship. (Art. XIV.) They declared all Belgians, of whatever religious profession, equally admissible to public employment; they voted for the act by which the endowments of the clergy of all communions should be annually fixed by the budget of the State, and for that which provides that the civil marriage shall precede the nuptial benediction; they united frankly with the Liberals in decreeing the liberty of the press, the abolition of censorship, and the impunity of the printer when the author is known and resident in Belgium; nor did they insist that the reigning prince should be a professor of the Catholic religion. No unprejudiced person can fail to admire this complete abnegation of the ideas which till then had characterized the political tendencies of the Romish Church. We are not disposed to inquire how far this tolerant conduct was founded on interested motives, or concealed mental reservations, masking ulterior designs under the cloak of liberty; whether it was adopted as the tactic best suited to the existing emergency, or under an illusion as to the infallible power of their religious doctrines on the minds of the population. An occasion soon presented itself for carrying this new theory into practice. On the 25th of February, 1831, a Liberal, Baron Surlet de Chokier, was chosen Regent of Belgium by one hundred and

six votes out of one hundred and fifty-nine. When he surrounded himself with a ministry purely Liberal, the Catholics, although in a majority, contented themselves with demanding that at least one member of their number should be placed in the council of the regent. Baron Surlet, in compliance with that demand, nominated Baron de Gerlache president of the council, but with a consultative voice only; and the Catholics declared themselves satisfied. At the election of the Prince of Saxe Cobourg to the throne of Belgium, no serious objection was made to the Protestant religion of the monarch elect. The Liberal Unionists, on their part, acted sincerely on the principles of toleration, and refused to be drawn aside from them by a dissident section which had from the first rejected every proposal of reconciliation with the adherents of Episcopacy, and which, out of Parliament, was supported by very influential organs. It was this fraction that, in 1832, founded the journal *L'Indépendant*, (since become *L'Indépendance*.) which openly avowed itself in its prospectus as follows: 'The Catholic religious body appears to us to be, in its very nature, invasive; we believe it to be dangerous to civil society, and unceasingly hostile to it. And as this religious society is powerful in Belgium, we consider it our duty to watch its advance, and to resist its encroachments.'

In spite of this opposition the Union was preponderant in the two successive ministries of the regent, as well as in the first ministry of King Leopold. The rupture of this association did not take place until after 1839, when the political standing of the country, in regard to Europe, and particularly with respect to Holland, was well assured. It must have occurred, however, sooner or later: two currents of opinion and feeling so directly opposite could not permanently coalesce in governing a people, and guiding it in the path of progress.

The vigilant opposition of the Liberals to every measure by which the ministry or the majority sought to turn constitutional rights to the advancement of the interests of the Catholic religion, was not less zealous in the interval prior to 1839; and it then, as well as afterwards, inflamed the parliamentary debates. The struggle between the Liberals and Catholics, less ardent in the chambers, where the influence of the Unionists still prevailed, was vigorously maintained in the journals; the slightest indication of Catholic spirit or bias became the object of acrimonious and sometimes uncandid controversy. Thanks to the extension of the anti-Catholic press, and to the activity of the Masonic Lodges, denounced by the Episcopacy as contrary to religion, the electoral influence of Liberalism incessantly augmented. The party

watch-words, progress, enlightenment, liberty, on one side,—subjugation of mind, sacerdotal ascendancy, on the other,—divided the nation anew, as before 1830, into two camps. And this antagonism still continues; it constitutes the principle of the two great parties which contend for power in Belgium.

The period between the settlement of the *status quo* in 1833, and the definitive conclusion of peace with Holland in 1839, is marked by a succession of measures favourable to the consolidation of the rising State, and indicative of its rich and fruitful vitality. Besides the establishment of railways, above noticed, we have to point out, first in the order of legislation and politics, the provincial and communal organization. The two laws passed for these objects in 1836, have the merit of presenting a just and salutary compromise between the central royal power, representing general interests, and the self-government of the provinces and communes. The communal (municipal) law of the 30th of March, 1836, the discussion of which occupied no fewer than ninety-six sittings of the Chamber of Representatives, recognises and strengthens that ancient spirit of municipal freedom and independence which characterizes the Belgian people. It ordains the administration of local affairs by a council chosen directly by the inhabitants; it grants to the King the nomination of the burgomaster and of the sheriffs, but confines his choice to members of the council; (it was not until a later period that M. Nothomb, the minister, carried a law permitting the government to nominate the burgomaster in certain exceptional cases from without the council;) it vests in the corporation the nomination of agents purely municipal; but it requires the intervention of the royal authority in all matters affecting jointly the local and general interests. All that concerns the commune is regulated by the council, but in matters of greater importance the law requires the intervention of the permanent deputation of the provincial council, and even, in certain cases, the approval of the head of the State.

The provincial authority is vested in a governor named by the King, representing the interests of the State, and a provincial council named by the people. The business of administration is conducted, in the absence of the council, by a permanent deputation in concert with the governor, who sees that the decisions of the council are carried into effect, and watches over the execution of the general laws of the kingdom. Few countries can boast of institutions preserving more wisely and effectively the equilibrium of the three gradations of authority,—the municipality, the province, and the State.

Another notable legislative measure effected during the period

now under review, is the organization of the higher instruction given by the State;—somewhat difficult of execution in conformity with the article of the constitution guaranteeing liberty of instruction, and the absolute independence of the two powers, civil and religious. This principle of unrestricted freedom of tuition had led to the institution of a vast University, founded in 1834, first in the city of Malines, and transferred a year later to Louvain. The *Université Catholique* of Louvain is the work of the Belgian Episcopacy, and is placed under its exclusive direction through the medium of a rector, chosen from among the clergy. The object of its founders is that of reconciling science with the dogmas of the Church, and preserving it from the inroads of philosophical rationalism. A diametrically opposite purpose was pursued by the parties who some months later, with the concurrence of the Masonic Lodges, and subsequently with that of the province and city, founded the Free University of Brussels. These two rival establishments are quite independent of the State. They are both prospering, and celebrated last year with great *éclat* the twenty-fifth anniversary of their existence.

The visible decline of the three State Universities of Liège, Louvain, and Ghent, following upon the recent creation of two free establishments, compelled the legislature to re-organize the higher instruction given at the expense of the State, and to introduce juries, charged to confer the diplomas of capacity required in Belgium for the exercise of the liberal professions. This was the object of the law of September 27th, 1835, in virtue of which the State possesses two universities,—one at Ghent for the Flemish country, and one at Liège for the Walloon districts, in both of which the instruction is given in French. The juries of examination are so composed, that free instruction and State instruction are represented in just proportion; the influence of the government is counterbalanced by the participation of the two chambers in the choice of the jurors. The Universities of the State, as well as the Free University of Brussels, have no chair of theology, and have no relation whatever with the religious authorities. This has not prevented the bishops, more than once, and of late years especially, from endeavouring in their episcopal charges to discredit these establishments as 'godless colleges,' tainted with infidelity and liberalism. Unhappily, the government has sometimes allowed itself to be influenced in its administrative measures by the pressure of the higher clergy.

The public instruction of the first, and that of the second degree, (elementary and middle stages,)—questions quite as



urgent as that of university education,—were not definitively organized until some years later, owing to difficulties originating in the conflicting interests of political parties. That of primary instruction was effected under the Nothomb ministry in 1842; and that of intermediate (*education moyenne*) under the Rogier ministry in 1850.

In reference to the material interests of the country, the years 1833 to 1839 present a progressive improvement; the great perturbation of industry and commerce created by the revolution speedily disappeared, and facts completely belied the sinister predictions of the Orange prophets. Coal mines, iron works, the fabrication of arms, cloth manufacture, the construction of machines, glass, earthenware, and porcelain works, were all in rapid progress. The linen manufacture gave, as yet, no indication of the terrible crisis it was soon to pass through in Flanders. The cotton manufacture, centred in Ghent, was alone suffering from the loss of the market of the Dutch colonies. The spirit of association was powerful and active,—fed by two great institutions of credit, the *Société Générale*, founded in 1822, and in which King William was the principal shareholder; and the *Banque de Belgique*, created in 1835 under the protection of the State, to satisfy the wants of the country, and to meet the prejudices of those who accused the *Société Générale* of being more or less favourable to the interests of Orangeism.

If industry advanced with gigantic strides, maritime commerce was declining. Shipments to foreign countries were entirely in the hands of foreigners. Shipowners bought their principal materials in the *entrepôts* of Liverpool, Rotterdam, and London; and Antwerp was menaced with becoming a second-hand commission market. Nevertheless, commerce went on increasing from year to year; from 1833 to 1837 the imports rose from 217 to 235 millions, exports from 111 to 139 millions of francs. The value of goods in transit from 1831 to 1837 increased from 8 to 25 millions.

Neither the enormous cost imposed on the country for the maintenance of a large army on the war footing during the unsettled state of politics, (consisting in 1835 of 130,000 men, of whom 80,000 were on leave, and 12,200 horses,) nor the loans contracted for this head, and also for the construction of railways, had compromised the financial prospects of the new kingdom. Computing from 1833, the receipts had sufficed to cover the expenses. From 1831 to 1837, the total amount of the receipts was 776 millions of francs, averaging 110 millions per annum; that of expenses 779 millions,—111 millions per

annum. Of the 779 millions expended, more than 370, or nearly one-half, were absorbed by the army. At the present time, the annual revenues of the country amount to nearly 156 millions, and considerably exceed its expenditure.

This rapid development of material prosperity, under a commercial system that allowed full scope to the principle of free trade in all departments of labour, gave proof of a political existence full of vitality and promise, which gained for Belgium the growing confidence of Europe. But it underwent a severe trial, when, by a dispatch of the 14th of March, 1838, the King of Holland, after seven years of indecision, officially announced his adhesion to the Twenty-four Articles. The question whether the Treaty of Twenty-four Articles of November 15th, 1831, involving the cession by Belgium of Limbourg and Luxembourg, closely attached to her since 1830, and no longer apprehensive of separation, would be accepted by her in 1838, after the heavy sacrifices entailed upon her by the slackness of the courts of Europe in driving William to an earlier adhesion, now became the absorbing question of the day. We will only recall here the extreme agitation it produced in all classes of the Belgian people, the warm protestation of the legislative bodies against the separation, and the open call to resistance by force of arms. Our limits forbid us to detail the events which agitated Belgium at this stormy period, until the conclusion of the definitive Treaty which put an end to the crisis. We stay not to examine the justice of the decisions of the Conference of London, or to speculate on the secret or avowed motives which dictated them. The fact is, that Belgium had to sheathe her sword, and yield to the pressure of the great powers, after having exhausted all means of making her rights respected. The definitive Treaty of the 19th of April, 1839, which had been accepted by the chambers, amidst the greatest agitation, by 58 votes against 42, does not essentially modify the Treaty of Twenty-four Articles, except in relation to the debt: the annual interest to be paid by Belgium to Holland was reduced to five millions of francs.

The Dutch and Belgian difference was now finally settled, and Belgium took her place among the States of Europe. The country recovered from the pain and irritation caused by the abandonment of the ceded parts of Limbourg and Luxembourg,—an unjustly demanded sacrifice. Orangeism disappeared as a party; and the conspiracy of Generals Vandermaen and Vandermissen, in 1841, was but a senseless attempt of some reckless men, which the government had no difficulty in frustrating. The activity of the country, at its issue from the crisis into which this great political question had led it, was about to develope

anew its strength and resources; while, on the other hand, internal struggles—the antagonism of parties—resumed fresh vigour. But conflict is the life, the hope, the invigorating play of liberty. The cabinet of 1834 had been dismembered in consequence of the question of the Twenty-four Articles. The Liberal ministers, Ernst and d'Huart, were replaced by M. Raikem, a Catholic, in the ministry of Justice, and by M. Desmaisières in that of Finance. Since 1837, M. Nothomb (at present Minister Plenipotentiary at Berlin) had held the ministry of Public Works, newly created at that period. The cabinet, like the majority of the chamber, preserved the Unionist character which had predominated since 1830. Ere long, however, that good understanding was to be broken; Liberalism gained strength, and was very soon to acquire political preponderance.

The De Theux ministry, already weakened by the moral effect of its ill success in its negotiation with the Conference, fell on the 4th of March, in consequence of a parliamentary question, entirely personal,—the re-instatement in the army of a general condemned to banishment in 1831. Its fall gave rise to an implacable struggle, which was afterwards to become the capital point of Belgian politics, Catholic and Liberal. These two denominations, analogous in their political bearing to Tory and Whig in English society, are henceforward to constitute the main basis of the history of the country. Let any one read over the list of the successive cabinets since 1840, and they will be found *Liberal* from 1840–1841 (Lebeau-Rogier ministry); *mixed* from 1841–1843 (Nothomb ministry), 1843–1845 (Nothomb d'Anethan ministry), and 1845 and 1846 (Deschamps, Van de Weyer ministry); *exclusive Catholic*, 1846–1847 (Theux and Malon ministry); *exclusive Liberal*, 1847–1852 (Rogier-Frère ministry); *moderate Liberal* from 1852–1855 (De Brouckère-Piercot ministry); *moderate Catholic* from 1855–1857 (De Decker-Vilain XIV. ministry); and lastly, since 1857, *exclusive Liberal* (Frère-Rogier ministry—now in office). This enumeration sufficiently indicates the continued alternations of political opinions which have directed public affairs during the last twenty years. Henceforward it may be said that the questions which have given occasion to this rapid succession of ministries, pertain almost always to education, and the administration of public charity, or legislation concerning the endowment of charitable institutions.

The cabinet which, from April 18th, 1840, was composed of moderate Liberals, sought to do away with all distinctions of party; at least, as to measures of personal interest. Its parliamentary majority was feeble in the chamber of represent-

atives, and failed it in the senate. Liberalism did not as yet unfurl the flag of party in the government quarters; the minister of Justice, M. Leclercq, more than once declared 'that in the eye of the ministry there were neither Catholics nor Liberals, but only Belgian citizens—equal before the law; that Belgium was nationally distinguished by Catholicism; that this characteristic was a benefit, since to the nation itself it formed a bond—one of the greatest cohesive forces of society—and a moderator, to point out what there might be of danger in the principles of liberty, and the political institutions of 1830;—that it was to foreign countries a pledge of order and stability; and that this characteristic ought to be preserved, under pain of bringing about the fall of the State.' But this official language was not that of the press, which broadly proclaimed the advent of a Liberal ministry to be the forerunner of all those reforms which a well-organized society was entitled to realize in the different spheres of activity. This equivocal situation, in which anti-Catholic tendencies were disavowed by men in power, and proclaimed by the press, could not last long. In a political debate, in which the question of the cabinet was brought forward, the ministers, it is true, obtained a majority of ten votes; but soon afterwards the senate adopted an address to the King by 25 votes against 19, in which the maintenance of the principles of Union, and the overthrow of a ministry exclusively Liberal, were represented to the King as the desire of the nation. Three weeks of agitation passed before the crown declared itself. It rejected the proposition of the cabinet for the dissolution of the senate, and charged M. Nothomb, one of the leaders of the Liberal Unionist party, to form a new administration.

This was constituted April 13th, 1841; both parties were represented in it. M. de Mulenaere (Foreign Affairs) and Count de Brieg (Finance) were Catholics; M. Nothomb (Interior), Van Volxem (Justice), Des Maisières (Public Works), and Buzen (War), belonged to the Liberal party. Shortly afterwards M. de Mulenaere was replaced by M. de Brieg, and the latter by M. Smits. The circular to the governors, published in the form of a programme, by the mixed ministry, exactly anticipated what took place five years later. It said, in reference to the necessity of recurring to the principles of the Union, 'The existing cabinet is the culminating point of a situation: it is almost inevitable that after it power should incline to the right, or to the left.' In fact the years 1841 to 1846 are the last in which it tried to govern the country by supporting itself on the centres. The elections of 1841 and of 1845 shook the mixed

policy; those of 1845 were its formal condemnation; and those of 1847 its overthrow.

The Nothomb ministry had to struggle both against the Liberals, who accused it of complaisance towards the episcopal aims at the re-establishment of tithe, mortmain, &c., and against the mistrust of the Catholics, especially manifested when, in April, 1843, the cabinet, having lost by accidental causes some of its members, was reconstructed in such a manner as to give a marked preponderance to the Liberal party. The disadvantageous result of the elections of 1845, although it did not break up the mixed majority by which M. Nothomb and his colleagues had been upheld for four years, induced them to tender their resignation.

One of the great acts which signalized the administration of M. Nothomb,—a statesman distinguished for talent, acumen, application, knowledge, eloquence, and temper,—was the law on the organization of primary instruction passed in 1842. In spite of the ardent opposition which all his measures encountered, he succeeded in securing for this one an almost unanimous vote, although it bore so directly on the questions on which the parties were at issue. The fundamental principles of this law, so important for the future well-being of the country, are,—the obligation on each commune to have at least one school; to furnish gratuitous instruction to the children of the poor, and to combine lessons of morality and religion with the primary instruction; and, finally, the obligation laid on the State and the province to grant subsidies in cases where the resources of the commune were not sufficient. The obligation on parents and guardians to send their children for instruction in these schools is a point under discussion, but not yet decided. The delicate question of the concurrence of the clergy in religious instruction was so treated as to satisfy all parties. The minister declared that he 'categorically rejected the doctrines of the eighteenth century, which aimed to secularize religious instruction completely, and to constitute society on purely rationalistic bases.'

It was during the Nothomb administration that what is called '*the Flemish movement*' was organized. In 1844 there was a fête in which the various '*Societies of Flemish Literature*,' scattered through the country, were constituted one great federation. This manifestation makes it necessary to notice briefly the division of languages in Belgium. That nation is composed, as is generally known, of a mixed population, Roman and German, in other words, Walloon and Low German. The relations between these two different races have not always been hostile. They have become so since the reigning house of

Burgundy used its influence to restrict the use of the Flemish language. From the time of the sovereignty of the Dukes of Burgundy, the French language has prevailed at court, and among the nobility. But in the provinces of Germanic race the people and the States remain faithful to the mother tongue. They rightly suspected the extension of the French language to be dangerous to their liberty and nationality. Hence the fundamental laws required that the members of the councils of Brabant, and of the two Flanders, should be natives of the country, and familiar with its language. All ordinances and decisions were to be made public in the language of the country in which they were to be in force. Until the time of the Emperor Francis II., these regulations were respected. The French régime changed all that entirely. An imperial decree of the 22nd of December, 1812, went so far as to prescribe that no Flemish newspaper should appear without a French translation opposite. This administration of twenty years was most injurious to the Flemish language. It disappeared from the higher classes, from public instruction, from the courts of justice and the administration. William I., when he became sovereign, committed the great fault of precipitating measures laudably intended to restore the language of the country to its due rank, and thereby to facilitate the amalgamation of the northern and southern parts of his kingdom. These measures, which put no restraint on the Walloon provinces, naturally irritated the bar and the magistracy by interfering with their acquired habit; and although the decrees of King William made no mention of '*the Dutch language*,' but of '*the language of the country*,' yet, as the two languages, so far as written, differ little from each other, they were not slow to reproach the government with designing to impose upon the Belgians a foreign tongue. The Walloons, who were the minority in the kingdom of the Netherlands, murmured at this protection of the Flemish language to the detriment of their own tongue, and consequently of their influence. When the government, in 1829 and 1830, thought it expedient to mitigate the rigour of their decisions of 1819, it was too late; the '*days of September*' were approaching.

After the revolution of 1830, the principal promoters of which were of the Walloon provinces, or at least had received an education entirely French, the Flemings saw that, although the law of the constitution left the use of the two tongues entirely optional, the option, as it concerned them, was illusory; and that the equality of the languages was a theory unknown and little desired in official quarters. To the great prejudice of the population, unwilling to renounce a precious heritage of the



past, the French language was supreme in all branches of the administration, in the army, and in the civic guard, in the schools, the courts, and the tribunals; it was so even in the common councils of the villages, although the census of 1846 had shown that out of 1000 inhabitants, 575 had declared that Flemish was their habitual language. The national spirit of the Flemings was roused, and gave birth to what is called '*the Flemish movement*,' the object of which was the re-instatement of the mother tongue, and, through its medium, the propagation of instruction, morality, and the benefits of liberty and civilization, among the lower orders. Although the end proposed by the leaders of this agitation was at once political and literary, it had nothing in common with the great political parties in Belgium. These parties, indeed, attached some importance to it. The clergy, on the one hand, feared lest the Flemish agitators, through the extension of their language, should come under the influence of Protestant Holland, whose language, with some simply orthographical variations, differs so little from their own; and, on the other hand, they would be happy to see a restriction of the influence exerted on the masses by the infiltration of the light literature of France. The Liberals, on the contrary, dreaded lest the movement should turn too much in favour of clerical projects. Withheld by these opposite apprehensions, both parties kept aloof from '*the Flemish movement*.' To the administration, this duality of languages was an annoyance, a perplexity, and an unwelcome superaddition of work; and it may be readily believed that the ministry at no time exhibited a sincere sympathy in the success of the agitation. It had in fact no initiative to take; in a country organized as is Belgium, it is not the province of government to broach a question like this, but to act when necessity for it is demonstrated by the legal representatives of the country; and, in this view, we are of opinion that the Belgian government was not wanting in its duty. It took numerous measures to satisfy the wishes made known to it. Through the influence of M. Van de Weyer, the Flemish element is represented in the Academy. Subsidies and prizes of all kinds have been decreed to the Flemish theatre and literature, and instruction in that language is more or less obligatory in the schools and colleges. The administrative nominations equally take account of the wants of localities in this respect.

Much certainly remains to be done to satisfy the claims of justice in this matter, in every particular; but the realization of the wishes of the promoters of the '*movement*' rests with the populations themselves. When these shall require their representatives in Parliament to declare in favour of a law enacting

that every public functionary shall be acquainted with the two languages, we think that the principal grievance will cease. It would be demanding too much of the government to expect it to take the initiative in this matter. The Flemings, since 1840, have multiplied to a surprising extent their Literary Societies, *Chambres de Rhétorique*, theatres, and journals; they are not without distinguished poets; their romance writers are numerous; Henri Conscience enjoys an European reputation; and the ancient and noble literary works of the Middle Ages in that tongue are reprinted and read.

Notwithstanding all this, the Flemish language continues to be disparaged in the higher ranks of society, and quite neglected by the secular clergy and Jesuits, in whose hands so large a part of the instruction of youth is placed. This is a great wrong; for to every reflecting mind the Germanism, of which the Flemish is the most natural expression, is an integral and constituent element of the Belgian nationality. The interest of the national independence requires that it be restored to honour. Nothing will contribute more to banish the antagonism between Walloon and Fleming than to satisfy, with rigorous impartiality, the rights of each. Of nine provinces of Belgium the two Flanders, Limbourg, Antwerp, and two-thirds of Brabant, belong to the Flemish region: Luxembourg, Liège, Namur, and Hainault, to the Walloon region. The line of demarcation of the two domains, in the direction from east to west, runs from the Meuse, to the north of Liège, towards Iodoigne, Wavre, Waterloo (some leagues S.W. of Brussels), Lessines, Courtray, Hasebrouck, and St. Omer, ending at Dunkirk,—the north-west extremity of France.

On the fall of the Nothomb ministry, (June, 1845,) the King had made overtures to some members of the moderate Liberal party, with a view to constitute a cabinet; but he could not accept their propositions, involving the authority to dissolve the chambers at whatever moment they should deem best. He found himself obliged to recur to the system of a mixed government. The new cabinet of July 30th, 1845, was composed of M. Van de Weyer, Minister Plenipotentiary at London (Interior), D'Hoffschmidt (Public Works), Deschamps (Foreign Affairs), Dupont (War), D'Anethan (Justice), Malou (Finances); these latter three representing the Catholic party. This combination was of short duration. Although the chamber had, in the month of November of the same year, passed a vote of confidence by sixty-three votes against twenty-five, before a year had passed dissensions broke out in the council respecting the organization of public instruction of the second degree, (*éducation moyenne*),

which led to the dissolution of the cabinet. M. Van de Weyer returned to his diplomatic post in London, which he still occupies with so much distinction. Once more the King communicated with the leaders of the Liberal party, in order to form a cabinet according to their wishes; but the attempt failed, as their conditions appeared with good reason unacceptable to the crown, especially so long as the mixed majority was still standing. This led to the formation of a purely Catholic cabinet, (March 31st, 1846,) composed of Messrs. De Theux, Malou, D'Anethan, De Bavay, and General Prisse. Everybody, and his Majesty especially, was convinced that a mixed government might work well under certain accidental conditions, in which party questions are kept in the background; but not when the division extends into the public arena, and even to village firesides. On the first trial the cabinet of De Theux obtained a majority of only ten votes, but on a second political debate this number was carried to eighteen. The Liberal opposition was violent and implacable, not always sparing the crown, which, in a constitutional State, should ever remain unassailed. This open war was conducted in and out of Parliament, principally by the *Revue Nationale*, the organ of M. Devaux, one of the founders of Belgian independence, and one of the soundest politicians in the country. But, in spite of all this, M. De Theux reached the period of the elections of 1847, which sealed his fate, without a single Bill brought forward by his ministry having been either rejected or amended.

The year 1846 is memorable in the annals of Belgian Liberalism for the convocation of that famous congress, whose object was to confederate Liberals of all shades, and to fix the bases of operation against their adversaries. Although founded on the constitutional right of association, it was not the less considered abroad as a revolutionary measure. It gave umbrage especially to King Louis Philippe, in whose eyes that confederacy of all the Liberal associations of the country was equivalent to an irregular power, menacing to the constituted authorities; and he accordingly addressed serious warnings on this head to his son-in-law. Leopold, better advised than the King of the French had been in similar circumstances, relied on the good spirit of his people, allowed things to take their course, and was thereby spared the commotions of 1848; nay, rather, the authority of his throne was confirmed by them. The King of the Belgians knew that all the vital forces of a nation have a right to exhibit and direct themselves towards a determinate object, within the limits of the fundamental law. Hence the programme of the Liberal congress did not alarm, much less curtail, Belgian

royalty. There was nothing to prevent the Catholics from organizing themselves on the same footing.

The Catholic cabinet of M. De Theux gave place, on the 12th of August, 1847, to a Liberal combination, composed of Messrs. Rogier (Interior), D'Hoffschmidt (Foreign Affairs), Frère Orban (appointed first to Public Works, and afterwards to Finance), Veydt (Finance), De Hunssy (Justice), and General Baron Chazal (War). One of its first objects was to continue the efforts of the preceding administration to combat pauperism, which, in consequence of an industrial crisis, combined with some successive bad harvests, had assumed fearful proportions in Flanders. The first acts of the government were testimonies of sympathy afforded to the manufacturing and agricultural labourers; medals were given as honourable rewards to intelligent labour and exemplary probity.

The events of February, 1848, at Paris, brought forward electoral reform, somewhat abruptly, indeed, and in a form more democratic than had been announced in the ministerial programme, or than even the Liberal congress of 1846 had expected. Next followed parliamentary reform, by measures which established the incompatibility of the functions of representative or senator with all offices salaried by the State, excepting that of minister; the suppression of the stamp duty on journals; the re-organization of the civic guard; and two forced loans to meet the wants created by the gravity of the circumstances, viz., the compulsory circulation of the notes of the *Société Générale*, and of the *Banque de Belgique*. Owing to these wise measures, which satisfied the desires of the most advanced Liberalism, and also to the rigorous observance of the neutrality imposed upon the country by the treaties, Belgium was preserved from all excesses, and passed happily through this terrible crisis. A band of two thousand men, whom the demagogues of Paris had sent armed, to break down the 'tyranny of King Leopold,' was dispersed by a few volleys of grape-shot. In the interior, the efforts of the republicans were of little effect; many of their acknowledged chiefs had, from the beginning, declared that they would never transgress the bounds of the law.

The common danger had effected, between the two great parties, a truce to their habitual hostility. The laws above-mentioned were almost all voted unanimously. One of the chiefs of the Catholic party, a member of the last cabinet, M. Deschamps, uttered these memorable words: 'In critical moments like the present, in which our nationality, subjected to severe trials, possibly to some sacrifices, will receive by that very means its definitive baptism; at such moments all the

action, all the intelligence and energy of the country, should be concentrated in the hands of the government which the chambers invest with their confidence.'

The head of the State, King Leopold, carried still farther the sacrifice of his interests, and of his personal ambition. He said to his ministers: 'If the nation desires to give a republican form to its government, I will be no obstacle; but if the country desires that the constitutional throne should stand, I will defend it to the last extremity.' Since he held this noble language, the popularity of the Monarch has redoubled, and the affection of his people for him increases from year to year.

The electoral and parliamentary reforms necessitated the dissolution of the Parliament, and of the provincial and municipal councils; and in that triple trial was manifested afresh the determination to exclude all elements favourable to republicanism.

Among the numerous acts which again signalized the administration of Messrs. Rogier and Frère (1847-1852), we cite the following:—the suppression of the patent duty in favour of the smaller tax-payers; the postal reform, reducing the charge on a single letter to ten centimes, and for a distance exceeding thirty kilometres to twenty centimes; the revision of the law of higher education; the customs law, regulating the admission of cereals and alimentary provisions at the duty of fifty centimes per one hundred kilogrammes; and the founding of the National Bank, constituted at the same time the treasury bank of the State. But the great affair was the organization of the secondary instruction (*éducation moyenne*), in a spirit faithful to the programme of the liberal congress. The authoritative intervention of the clergy is excluded from the ten royal and fifty middle schools created by the law; they are only invited to give their concurrence. This position of the clergy appeared to the Catholics an unworthy one, and gave rise to numerous protestations. The law of June 1st, 1850, was carried by seventy-two votes against twenty-five in the chamber of representatives, and, notwithstanding the petitions of the bishops, by thirty-three votes against nineteen in the upper chamber,—the senate.

By the introduction of new kinds of industry, and of salutary fiscal and agricultural measures, the government had revived the activity of East and West Flanders, and considerably diminished the amount of pauperism that was devouring these provinces. The popularity of the Liberal government visibly increased, in spite of the fears for the very existence of the Catholic religion enounced in the Papal allocution of May 20th, 1850. And yet the parliamentary elections of 1850 did not augment the ministerial majority by more than five votes.

On the 25th of September, the twentieth anniversary of the independence of the country, the King, on laying the foundation stone of the column of the congress, spoke as follows: 'Let the nation continue to exercise its liberties with the same wisdom as hitherto, so that the constitution may be transmitted unimpaired to those who shall follow us, and this twentieth anniversary will open to Belgium a new era of true grandeur and prosperity.'

The attachment of the country to royalty was remarkably displayed at the death of the Queen of the Belgians on the 11th of October, 1850. The emotion produced by the loss of that admirable woman is indescribable. Like the heart-felt grief of England for the death of our own Princess Charlotte, Leopold's first consort, it was a home sorrow throughout the land. The unaffected outburst of sympathy with the living, and sorrow for the dead, showed what deep root the dynasty had taken in the heart of the nation. The legitimate apprehensions excited in Belgium at the advent of the French Empire in 1852, as well as the annexionist feelers put forth across the border in 1860, have strengthened the love of the country to the person of the King, whose wise and prudent policy has always dissipated real or apprehended danger to Belgium, without, for an instant, disturbing its foreign relations. This loyalty has been evinced on every public celebration of events of national interest, and never more cordially than upon occasions most intimately affecting the interests of the royal house. We may refer to the *fêtes* at the majority of the Prince Royal, and his marriage with an Archduchess of Austria, in 1853; the celebration, in July, 1856, of the completion of twenty-five years from the accession of King Leopold to the throne; the marriage of the Princess Charlotte to Maximilian, brother of the Emperor of Austria, in 1857; and, finally, the succession of *fêtes* organized in 1860, in the different cities of Belgium, in honour of his Majesty,—a significant demonstration to Europe that the national fidelity and attachment to their sovereign had been stimulated to new vigour by the reports of French journalists, who had not scrupled to assert that Belgian nationality was a chimera, which a bolder, broader, and better-enlightened European policy was shortly to annihilate, to the infinite benefit of humanity.

What adds to the interest of all these manifestations is, that popularity has not been courted by King Leopold, who appears rather to shun popular acclamations. His life passes tranquilly in his peaceful retreat at Laeken, far from the court splendours which ordinarily environ royalty,—especially royalty of recent creation. But this love of simplicity, combined with a kingly



dignity of attitude, an affability full of elegance and grace, a decided preference for a life of calm, devoted to the study of the questions which interest the country, and an equanimity in no wise incompatible with firmness and energy; his quiet kindness and wise impartiality in presence of the passions stirring around the throne,—these are so many qualities fitted to inspire respect and sympathy in a people constituted as are the Belgians,—an industrious people, slow of emotion, and little accessible to the seductions of glory and pomp. The grave, sedate temperament of the King of the Belgians naturally gives value to his judgment, and weight to all his decisions. The fairness with which the Monarch, amidst all difficulties, has maintained his power as moderator, within the limits of the fundamental compact sworn to in 1831; his remarkable tact in seizing the prevailing ideas, and directing them into a legal course; and his happy facility of avoiding the agitation that always springs from an obstinate resistance to rightful wishes legally expressed,—have acquired for the King of the Belgians just veneration in the country and abroad.

To show more clearly the perfect accord between the crown and the national representation for twenty-nine years past, it will suffice to state that the King has made use of his prerogative to dissolve the chambers twice only, for reasons of a political nature; to wit, in 1833, during the negotiations with the conference; and in 1857, after the troubles to which we shall refer anon: and twice only—and then on questions of secondary importance—has the King refused his sanction to the decisions of the legislature. In each case, his conduct has had the entire approval of judicious observers, unbiassed by party prejudice.

The King of the Belgians has two sons, deriving their titles from scenes and events illustrious in the national history; the one, the heir-apparent, the Duke of Brabant; and the other, the Count of Flanders. Each of them holds the rank of general in the army. The Duke of Brabant, born in 1835, who entered the senate in 1853, in virtue of his political majority, has shown, in his speeches in the upper chamber, that his thoughts are directed especially towards the extension of the commercial relations of the country, and the revival of that spirit of enterprise on which the ancient fame of Bruges and Antwerp was founded. The ardent interest he takes in the fine arts, and in the growth of manufacturing industry, the simplicity of his address, and his agreeable manners, have long made him popular; and he has already outlived the prejudice arising from a supposed tendency towards the views of the Catholic party. The Princes,

under the enlightened guidance of their father, have learned to separate the religious sentiment of the heart from the interests of politics; and to cherish the memory of their pious mother, without prejudice to the opinion of those who, right or wrong, see in the aims of the clergy danger to the prosperity of the country. From the marriage of the Duke with the Archduchess Marie Henriette—herself brought up beyond the influence of ultramontane sentiments (her mother was a zealous Protestant)—a daughter was born in 1856; and in 1859, to the great joy of the nation, a Prince, upon whom the King, in compliance with the wishes expressed to him, conferred the title of Count of Hainault.

The Count of Flanders, the King's second son, born in 1837, exercises the functions of general of brigade in the cavalry. He participates deservedly in the popularity of his brother. Both are endowed with good intellects, agreeable tempers, and great frankness of manner, and give the country good reason to look forward with confidence to the future. The work of their royal father will one day be faithfully continued by the Duke of Brabant; and the Count of Flanders has already shown that he is possessed of the qualities which fully characterize a 'gentleman' born on the steps of a throne.

In contrast with what attaches to all the monarchies of Europe, ancient and modern, great and small, there is nothing to be found in Belgium of what is usually called a court. The royalty of Belgium is surrounded with certain dignitaries, who preside over the administration of the royal household, and are needed to facilitate the relations between the council and the King. These functionaries are a marshal, an intendant of the civil list, and a chief of the private cabinet of his Majesty, bearing the title of 'Minister of the King's Household.' They have absolutely no political character, and exercise no pressure or influence on the will of the King. His Majesty lives at Laeken, unattended by a single officer; chamberlains, privy councillors, and other like titles, are unknown in Belgium. We may state on this point, that the constitution grants to the King the right of conferring titles of nobility; but that nobility does not bring with it the least political advantage, or the slightest preference in the bestowal of employments.

The King of the Belgians enjoys a civil list of 2,751,322 francs, and has at his disposal certain royal residences, which he must furnish and keep in repair. Since his accession, his Majesty has successively acquired large domains in the Ardennes, and in the uncultivated country of the Campine. The salutary effects of the model cultivation of these royal estates on the agri-

culture and the clearing of land in the Campine are indisputable.

The Duke of Brabant has an annual grant of 500,000 francs, besides the use of the domain and castle of Terveuren. The Count of Flanders receives from the public treasury an annual sum of 150,000 francs.

After this digression on the character and physiognomy of Belgian royalty, we resume our historical narrative. If, up to the advent of a decidedly liberal policy in 1847, we can in all respects recommend the work of M. Thonissen, we must caution the reader against attributing to him a too absolute authority, from the period at which the Catholic party was reduced to the position of a vanquished one. The author, it is true, manifests everywhere a laudable spirit of justice, with high maturity of judgment respecting his political co-religionists, and his Liberal adversaries. His information as to facts is conscientiously drawn from authentic sources; his devotion to the national interests is sincere; his political ideas are replete with good sense. Besides this, the book is pervaded by a high tone of thought and feeling, and the style is perspicuous and elegant. But M. Thonissen is too much attached to the Church to dare to abandon himself freely to his appreciation of men and things. He combats honestly the theories of his opponents, but is not the less under the sway of his personal feelings.

The Frère-Rogier ministry advanced resolutely in the career of reform; but, apart from the continental crisis of 1848, its administration was beset with grave difficulties at home. Foremost among these was the opposition it encountered from a fraction of the Liberal party in the chamber, who combined to fix the sum of twenty-five millions of francs as the maximum of war expenditure in time of peace. The cabinet came forth victorious from this trial, but not without aid from their Catholic opponents. Nevertheless the ministers evinced the greatest consideration for this section of the extreme left (the Liberal side). One of the chiefs of the dissident Liberals, M. De Tesch, was even recommended to the post of minister of Justice on the 12th of August, 1850. At the same time General Chazal resigned his portfolio to General Brialmont; but this officer, at variance with his colleagues on the war budget, and immovable in his determination not to alter the military organization of 1845, withdrew on the 20th of January following, and was replaced some months later by General Anoul. In the interval, the cabinet had rallied to its side the advanced Liberals, but in so doing had cooled the inclination of the so-called Conservative Liberals to support it.

To establish the equilibrium in the receipts and expenditure, M. Frère had, in 1849, proposed a law, laying an impost on hereditary successions in the direct line. It was very ill received by the central section, and the discussion upon it was adjourned. In May, 1851, the minister thought the moment opportune for its reproduction; but notwithstanding considerable concessions to public opinion, which was little favourable to the project, the cabinet met with a check, and on the 16th of May tendered its resignation. The conferences of the crown with the heads of the moderate Liberal party having led to no result, the King maintained the retiring cabinet, acknowledged to be indispensable. Strong in this position, the ministry again brought forward its financial project with new modifications, and this time carried it through the chamber. When sent up to the senate, on the 27th of August, it excited a warm debate; a conciliatory amendment was rejected by twenty-seven votes against twenty-four. On the morrow the session was closed, and some days later the senate was dissolved. At the beginning of the new session a compromise, by which the incidence of the tax was confined to real estate, procured at last the acceptance of the law, which has since become one of the most important sources of revenue to the country.

The *coup d'état* in France, which, on the 2nd of December, 1851, placed an almost absolute power in the hands of Louis Napoleon, could not fail to create a great sensation in free Belgium, and to awaken just apprehensions in the minds of the people for the maintenance of the peace so dearly purchased in 1839, and from which the country had derived such happy results. Seeing the most valued and eminent men of France betake themselves to the soil of Belgium, to expiate by exile their attachment to parliamentary government; reflecting on the declaration of the President that it was his ambition to lead his army to glory; and observing the wary and prudent attitude assumed by the Belgian government towards the proscribed Frenchmen, the public were led to doubt whether amicable relations could be preserved with a State with which, on so many grounds, Belgium had hitherto sympathized. Justifiable or not, the fears aroused by the re-appearance of the imperial eagle kept up for a long time a secret uneasiness, which the solemnly reiterated declarations of the President in favour of peace did not dissipate. The language of the national press, especially after the decree of January 22nd, 1852, which confiscated the property of the Orleans family, and still more the attacks of the journals founded in Belgium by the enemies of the President, created serious embarrassment to the government. The trials instituted, at the

demand of France, against the publishers of an Orleanist journal, *Le Bulletin Français*, terminated in an acquittal, notwithstanding all the efforts of the public prosecutor, who invoked an ancient law relating to insult towards foreign sovereigns, a law which the public had held to be virtually abrogated by the events of 1830. The prevailing indecision, as to the constitutional validity of that statute, led the government some months later to bring forward a new law.

As a measure of prudence, under these grave circumstances, the government decreed the fortification of the Tête de Flandres, and the construction of an intrenched camp near Antwerp, with other extraordinary works, for which the legislature had voted 4,700,000 francs. At this conjuncture, amidst the mistrust in regard to France, the nation learned with satisfaction that a great power, which had always maintained an attitude of reserve towards 'the Belgium of 1830,' had accredited an ambassador to the court of Brussels. 'The establishment of diplomatic relations with Russia,' said the Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. D'Hoffschmidt, 'is a new and unquestionable testimony of the esteem of Europe for Belgium and her King. Our country is now, as to its foreign relations, in the same position as the oldest monarchies.' This approximation between the two countries cost the State a painful sacrifice, inasmuch as it necessitated the placing on the retired list a certain number of Belgian officers, of Polish origin, whose pensions had to be regulated by the exceptional law of March 12th, 1853. The elections of 1852 were entered on under the influence of general disquietude, and distrust of the men of 1847, who were said to be pushing on the country in a dangerous course, and compromising the issue of the commercial negotiations in progress with France; and they terminated unfavourably to the cabinet. Although the opposition had not yet a majority, the ministry offered to resign. The King accepted only the resignation of the minister of Finance, M. Frère, (September 17th, 1852,) who was replaced by M. Liedts, called to continue the difficult negotiation of the pending treaty of commerce with France, with which the relations were becoming cooler every day. This coolness was occasioned mainly by the anti-Buonapartist intrigues of the Belgian press; and, as some would have it, by the presence of Queen Victoria at Antwerp and Brussels from the 11th to the 14th of August. The defeat of M. Verhaegen, the ministerial candidate for the presidency of the chamber, led to the definitive retirement of the cabinet on the 28th of September. After a crisis of some weeks, a new Liberal cabinet was formed under the direction of M. Henri de Brouckère, minister plenipotentiary to the courts

of Italy. He was charged with the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, and with him were associated M. Piercot, burgomaster of Liège, (minister of the Interior,) M. Faider (Justice), M. Liedts (Finance), and for Public Works and War, respectively, M. Van Hoorebeke and General Anoul, as before.

The first important act of the new ministry was the presentation of a bill for the repression of offences against foreign sovereigns. This bill, which excited angry debates, on the ground alike of the national dignity and of constitutional liberty, was adopted by the second chamber on the 6th of December, by a majority of sixty-nine votes against twenty-one. It must, however, be remarked, that not one of its opponents declared against the principle of the bill. The passing of this law re-acted favourably on the progress of negotiations with France. A provisional convention was signed on the 9th of December between M. De Brouckère and the Duke of Bassano, and the literary convention of August 22nd, for the repression of piracy of copyright, was indefinitely adjourned. But the conciliatory measures into which M. Piercot allowed himself to be drawn, in order to obtain the concurrence of the clergy, in the conduct of the secondary instruction, (*éducation moyenne*), caused an embarrassment in both camps, neither of them well satisfied with the measures; and a succession of minor defeats led to the retirement of the De Brouckère ministry, after an existence of two years and a half. We must not forget to enumerate here, among its acts, the new law on the organization of the army, adopted on the 11th of May, 1853, by seventy-two votes against twenty-one; the very liberal fiscal measures in favour of articles of food; the conclusion of a definitive treaty with France; and the enforcement of the convention of August 22nd, 1852, for the suppression of literary piracy in Belgium, ratified the 12th of April, 1854; a loan of twenty-seven millions of francs, 19th of June, 1854; and, especially, a distinct declaration of the observance of strict neutrality in the conflicts between the Western Powers and Russia. It was also during the De Brouckère administration that certain facts were accomplished of high importance to the foreign relations of the country,—the marriage of the Duke of Brabant with a Princess of the house of Austria in August, 1853; the visit of Prince Napoleon to the court of Brussels in February, 1854; and the amicable interview of King Leopold and the Duke of Brabant with the Emperor of the French, at the camp of Boulogne, in September, 1854.

The ministerial crisis was prolonged from the 2nd of March, 1855, to the 30th of the same month. The elections of 1854



having betrayed a progressive weakening of the Liberal majority, it was not surprising that the crown should confide the administration to a Catholic cabinet, but one composed of men of known moderation. These men were Messrs. De Decker (Interior), Viscount Vilain XIV. (Foreign Affairs), Mercier (Finance), Dumon (Public Works), Alphonse Nothomb, brother of the celebrated statesman, (Justice,) and General Greindl (War). In the strife of parties this cabinet made good its promise to act as a cabinet of compromise and conciliation. But it had not counted on the imprudence of the episcopate, which, in the matter of instruction, did not cease to attack and malign all establishments not amenable to its authority. Neither had ministers the good fortune to allay the extreme agitation, provoked by the legislative discussions on the administration of the funds for the poor, and of charitable foundations; nor to prevent the extra-legal popular manifestations made in the different communes, or the unmistakable demonstration of determined hostility to the ministerial project from the more orderly assemblages of citizens, of various ranks, around the walls of Parliament itself. The cabinet soon found itself borne away by the rising wave of Liberalism. Messrs. De Decker and Vilain XIV.,—men of marked ability in office, sincere, dignified, and patriotic, if there exist any such,—held their ground no longer than their predecessors. They prepared the way for the return of a thoroughly Liberal cabinet, and for the re-instatement of Messrs. Frère and Rogier, who have continued in power since 1857.

A demand by the De Decker ministry of a credit of 9,400,000 francs, destined to complete the defensive system of the city of Antwerp and of the banks of the Scheldt, was not conceded by the chamber (on June 2nd, 1855). The address in reply to the speech from the throne was only carried by thirty votes against eighteen in the negative, and twenty-one who abstained from voting; a clear indication that the Liberals were not content to prop up a cabinet of compromise. However, on the vote for the bill purporting, 'that it be not regarded as a *political* offence to make an attempt upon the person of the head of a foreign government, or that of any member of his family, when such attempt constitutes the fact of murder, or assassination, or poisoning,' but should be dealt with more severely and summarily as a *crime by common law*; the ministers, who had particularly in view criminal attempts against the sovereign of France, after seven days' debate, had a majority of sixty-one votes against thirty-three.

The frank and loyal bearing of the two leading members of the cabinet, Messrs. De Decker and Vilain XIV., their liberal

measures on customs' law, and in favour of the extension of commercial relations; their firm attitude against the overweening pretensions of the clergy; their indignant protest against the suspicion of submitting to pressure from France in the projected measures of legislation for the press; (the reader will not have forgotten the haughty language of Count Walewski at the congress at Paris in allusion to the Belgian press;) in a word, their prudent and patriotic conduct, gained them the general esteem of the country; and some happy expressions on certain occasions, as the famous *Jamais!* ('Never!') of M. Vilain XIV., in reference to submitting to French dictation,—gave their names a certain popularity. This could not fail to improve by the enthusiasm with which the twenty-fifth anniversary of the accession of Leopold to the throne was celebrated in every corner of the kingdom. All enmities disappeared during that succession of *fêtes* and homage which constitutes, in some sort, the history of 1854; the strife of parties was for a moment hushed.

The struggle broke out more fiercely than ever, when a project which touched to the quick the champions of the interests of the Church, and of the influence of the regular clergy, and which, from its nature, was fitted to produce an explosion of party passion for or against the extension of ecclesiastical power—when, in a word, the bill relating to the organization of public charity, the relief of the poor, and the administration of pious and benevolent institutions, came under discussion in the chamber of representatives. A project had been already presented on that subject at the beginning of 1854 by the preceding Liberal ministry, but the fear of creating a storm had consigned it back to the portfolio. M. Alphonse Nothomb, minister of Justice, presented a new one on the 29th of January, 1856, differing little from the other; but, nevertheless, adverse to the theories maintained by Belgian political Liberalism on the matter of public charity. The report of the central section, drawn up by M. Malou, one of the leaders of the extreme right (Catholic party), was presented on the 17th of December of the same year. The public discussion, commenced May 28th, 1857, became the ground of a pitched battle between the two political parties of the country, and the grand event of the year. Twenty-three sittings had already been devoted to this irritating question on the *ensemble* of the project, when on the 18th of May two propositions were made, tending to bring to an issue this obstinate and seemingly interminable struggle. The first was inadmissible for reasons of form; the second, that of M. Frère, one of the most zealous opponents of the law, aimed to suspend the de-

bates, in order to enter upon a minute examination into every thing relating to the administration of the funds for the poor. It was rejected by sixty votes against forty-five. It was then decided, on the 20th of May, to pass to the discussion of the two essential articles of the law. The vivacity of the speakers communicated itself to the galleries, which had to be twice cleared of spectators; and the same thing occurred again on the 27th of May, under the excitement produced by the energetic language of M. Frère:—the public, however, were re-admitted at the roll-call of the members for their votes on the obnoxious articles. They were passed by sixty votes against forty-one. On leaving the chambers, several members of the Catholic majority were received with hisses. The next day, on quitting the house at the close of the sitting, there were new crowds of people, and shouts of applause in front of the residence of M. Frère, and before the King's palace, but hissing before the Ministry of Justice. In the evening, various quarters of the city resounded with cries of 'Down with the convents!' Acts of violence were committed against some religious (monastic) houses, and some printing-offices of the Catholic press. Order was restored in the city toward midnight. On the morrow the Parliament voted the adjournment of the discussion, and on the following day the chambers were indefinitely prorogued. Disorders of the same kind as those just mentioned had taken place in various parts of the kingdom. From all quarters the King received thanks for the measures he had taken, accompanied with urgent calls for the final withdrawal of the laws on charities.

What was the King to do, in presence, on the one hand, of the outrage done to Parliament and his ministry, and, on the other, of the general and crying unpopularity of the law? In this difficulty the wonted sagacity of Leopold succeeded in conciliating all interests. After an interval of a fortnight, he decreed the closing of the legislative session. This decree was preceded by a report to the King, in which the ministers justified with dignity the course they had taken, and announced their intention to propose the adjournment of the discussion to the opening of the next session. On the other hand, his Majesty published on the same day in the *Moniteur* a letter to the minister of the Interior, avowedly addressed through him to the country. He bore testimony to the loyalty of his ministers, and advised the majority of the chambers, 'whose wishes as a majority,' said the King, 'are and ought to be my guide,' to discontinue the discussion of the law, wisely reminding them that 'there are in countries which occupy themselves in their own affairs emotions rapid and contagious,—propagating themselves with an intensity

more easily recognised than explained, and with which it is more prudent to compromise than to argue.'

This language of the King made a deep impression on the country. Agitation ceased, except in the incorrigible regions of Catholic journalism; and the institutions and the reputation of the country came out unscathed from this new ordeal. The wisdom of the Monarch shone out with new lustre.

After these events, the renewals of the common councils (October 27th) had a political bearing, not habitual with them. The result was a protest from the nation against 'the Law of Convents.' The ministry of M. De Decker perfectly understood its significance, and withdrew on the 31st of October; on the 8th of November a new Liberal cabinet resumed the reins of government, and holds them to this day. The parliamentary session 1857 to 1858 was opened on the 10th of November, but forthwith adjourned. The new situation required the dissolution of the Chamber of Representatives, in which the adherents of the old ministry still formed the majority. It was decreed on the 13th of the same month. Both parties put forth all their energies for the elections of the 10th of December; and five days later the new chamber assembled, numbering seventy Liberals to thirty-eight Catholics, instead of forty-five against sixty-three, as in the late Parliament.

When King Leopold confided power to the chiefs of the opposition, it was said by some that he was giving way to the mob; that he was discrediting his authority; that he was opening the door to anarchy, to civil war, and to foreign intervention. They were mistaken; Leopold had well judged public opinion, and the elections of December amply vindicated his discernment. Three years and a half have passed since the crisis of 1857. Never has the popularity of royalty been greater; never has the sentiment of nationality been more lively.

We have seen that the public entitled the law which raised the storm of 1857, 'the Law of Convents,' because they attributed to it consequences too favourable to the increase of monastic wealth. It is certain that the project presented by the De Decker ministry was framed with a view to conciliate the interests of individual liberty and the free expansion of the sentiment of charity, with those of society at large. Under any other circumstances, it might have passed unopposed. But the anti-clerical passions were stirred by the hostile conduct of the clergy themselves, and by various revelations of the clandestine financiering practices of the religious corporations; and so the 'project' became a party flag.

Impartial observers of Belgian affairs are in general satisfied that

liberty, that is to say, the putting in practice the principles embodied in the fundamental charter, is not more endangered under a Catholic than under a Liberal cabinet, so far as the danger lies in the intentions and dispositions of Belgian statesmen. Liberty of worship is as dear to M. De Theux as to M. Royer. The Protestant profession has met with no obstacles from either side to its full development; the congregations of the different denominations are organized at pleasure, and are multiplied perhaps in the same proportion as the conventual orders. Some information as to Belgian Protestantism will not be out of place here.

The Protestants established in Belgium, at the taking of the census in 1846 numbered 7368, of whom 790 were Anglicans, out of a population of four and a half millions. This return, the last officially made, is much below the numbers actually attending Protestant worship, which may be taken at not less than 10,000, a large proportion of whom are foreigners. The congregations are distinguished into three classes. There are, first, the French German, or Flemish, Churches, supported from the funds of the State, and together forming the synod. These Churches exist in eight places, and are supplied by thirteen pastors. In the environs of Mons, in a single commune of Flanders, at Marie-Hoorebeke, there are found several groups of families whose Protestantism dates from the sixteenth century. In the second class are seven Anglican congregations whose ministers receive grants from the State; two of them being at Brussels, where there is also a third Anglican chapel maintained by the congregation without aid from the public treasury. And, lastly, there exists the Belgian Missionary Church, allied to the Evangelical Society, which is supported by voluntary contributions, home and foreign. It numbers fifteen stations, with as many ministers. Its principal object is the conversion of the Catholic population, in which it has been successful to an encouraging extent. In 1860, the communicants in these free Churches exceeded 1000. The labours of this admirable institution have been powerfully seconded by the British and Foreign Bible Society, by whose instrumentality not less than 200,000 copies of the Scriptures have been circulated in the cities and villages of Belgium. The synodal Churches also actively co-operate in the work of evangelizing the Catholics in various parts of the kingdom.

The ministry which the King called, in November, 1857, to succeed that of M. De Decker and M. Vilain XIV., and which is still in office, is composed of the following members. In the department of the Interior, M. Rogier, member of the provisional government in 1830, and since then of the cabinets

formed in 1832, 1840, and 1847; born in 1800. In Foreign Affairs, M. Le Baron de Vrière, formerly in the diplomatic service, and governor of a province since 1847. In Finance, M. Frère Orban, a barrister at Liège, and the minister of Finance in 1847 and 1852, born in 1812; a man of rare penetration and remarkable activity. In Public Works, M. Partoes, formerly secretary general of that department; replaced after his death (November, 1858) by M. Vanderstichelan, barrister, and formerly editor of a newspaper at Ghent. In Justice, M. Tesch, formerly barrister at Arton, director of the Great Luxembourg Railway, and minister from 1850 to 1852. In War, Major-General Berton; replaced, April 6th, 1858, by Lieutenant-General Chazal, aide-de-camp of the King; a man of distinguished intelligence and decided character. We cannot, within the narrow limits accorded us, enumerate the acts by which this cabinet, long described by the opposition as the ministry of the *émeute* (riot), has during the last three years marked its administration of power. But we cannot pass over in silence the two great decisions taken by the legislature on the proposition of the cabinet. These are, the fortification of Antwerp,—a grand and costly measure, whose seasonableness and utility have been long debated, and are now finally recognised: and, next, the abolition of the octroi,—an economical reform vainly attempted for many years; a difficult problem, of which M. Frère has the honour of finding the solution to the benefit of the public interests, and to the great advantage of the wealth of the nation. This solution was possible only in a condition of financial solidity, enabling the minister to meet boldly the transitory difficulties which are incident to a radical reform.

After this sketch of the principal facts which have signalized the first thirty years of the Belgian kingdom, we should have been glad to devote a few lines to the progress of the country in science, art, and letters. We must content ourselves with stating that in these three respects Belgium may be proud of her spirit of liberty and independence, a spirit fruitful of intelligent activity and skill in every direction. With respect to journalism, it is known that some of the Belgian papers have acquired an European reputation. For the information of our readers we may state, that the principal organs of the Liberal party in Brussels are the *Indépendance*, the *Observateur*, the *Echo du Parlement*, the *Etoile Belge*, and, with a tinge of radicalism, the *National*. To these may now be added a new journal, of which the first number is before us, *La Réformation*, a weekly paper, political, scientific, literary, and religious, the organ of Evangelical Protestantism in Belgium, and destined, we doubt



not, to achieve an honourable position in the Belgian press by its fearless and effective advocacy of truth, justice, freedom, and goodwill to all. Passing beyond the capital, we have at Liège the *Meuse* and the *Journal de Liège*; at Antwerp, the *Précurseur*; and at Ghent, the *Journal de Gand*. The Ultramontane papers are, at Brussels, the *Journal de Bruxelles*, the *Emancipation*, and the *Universel*; the *Journal d'Anvers* at Antwerp, the *Bien Public* at Ghent, the *Patrie* at Bruges, and the *Gazette* at Liège. The Flemish press has little political influence. The official organ of the government is the *Moniteur Belge*. The *Nord*, published at Brussels, is created by Russian capital, and can scarcely be numbered with the Belgian press.

The second of the works we have named at the head of this article is a source of valuable information for the knowledge of men and things in Belgium.

The *Annuaire Statistique et Historique Belge* of Dr. Auguste Scheler combines in one compendious volume a brief but comprehensive survey of the statistics of all the other organized States of the world, forming the first part of the work; and a clear, copious, and well digested statement of the statistics of Belgium, ample and discriminating in its details, under the several heads relating to the political, social, moral, and material interests of the country; with a chronicle of events, and biographical notices of the most distinguished men of all parties, statesmen and soldiers, who have figured in the history of Belgium for the last thirty years. The author's repute as a ripe and accurate scholar, his position as librarian to the King, and his facilities of access to the heads of various departments of the administration, give more than ordinary authority to his work, and have made it the recognised manual on Belgian statistics at the several embassies to the court of Brussels. We commend it to our readers as a model book of its class.

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ART. III.—1. *Financial Statement of SIR ROBERT PEEL, March 11th, 1842.*

2. *Financial Speech of MR. GLADSTONE, February 11th, 1860.*

3. *Reports on Taxation, Direct and Indirect, of the Financial Reform Association for 1859 and 1860.*

4. *The Cost of Customs and Excise Duties. Financial Reform Tracts.*

5. *Direct Taxation: an Enquiry.* By LEONARD COURTNEY. Bell and Daldy.

6. *On Taxation: How it is raised, and how it is expended.* By LEONE LEVI. Parker.

'On what shelf of their bookcase could ladies place a work on statistics?' said a grave statistician in our hearing to a lady to whom he was trying to make himself agreeable. 'With our cookery books,' was the prompt reply. The quick-witted lady seemed to think no other place could so well suit a volume which furnished materials for any taste, according to the aim and skill of the hand that chose and mixed them. There is much truth in the covert sarcasm. Statistics are appealed to for every purpose, and quoted on every side. Buckle the philosopher uses them to prove the irresponsibility of human actions, and Ferguson the bird-fancier has 'important statistics' on the great subject of rearing poultry! The more difficult the topic, the more abstruse the calculations, the more ready is every party to appeal to statistics, and the more diverse are the conclusions derived from their evidence. This is especially the case on the difficult question of taxation. We stand aghast at the difference between the assertions of one party, and the denials of another, each boldly appealing to statistics in support of their conclusions. Do landlords assert that the Free-Trade measures of the last eighteen years have benefited trade more than land? Mr. Gladstone will prove the contrary by those incontrovertible authorities, Schedules A, B, and D. Mr. Bright makes his own calculations on the amount of property in England, and the *Edinburgh Review* charges him with a small mistake of 3000 millions! Mr. Macqueen rates the farming stock in Great Britain at £604,833,730 or £617,883,299. We rejoice in the scrupulous exactness of the odd thirty and ninety-nine pounds; all the more, as the two statements differ 13 millions from each other, and from Mr. Spackman (another authority on the subject) in the trifling amount of 100 millions! The Financial Reformers tell us that the working man pays 'on a low computation' the enormous sum of thirteen pounds a year, *i.e.*, five shillings a week, 'in taxes upon articles of consumption, and prices enhanced by them.'\* They afterwards lower this to three shillings a week, *i.e.*, £7. 16s. a year; † while Leone Levi *proves* to us, that the working classes only pay annually at the rate of 21s. a head; and of this, 11s. 4d. (what admirable accuracy!) goes for spirits and tobacco: so that a temperate family circle, of the average number five, would barely pay £2. 10s. annually to the State, instead of £7. 16s. But perhaps the most astounding-

\* *Report for 1859*, p. 7.

† *Ibid.*, 1860, p. 21.

ing difference is to be found in the opposite statements advanced with regard to the cost of levying Direct and Indirect Taxes. All admit that Direct Taxation is cheapest, but they differ as to the proportion between them. It is probably as  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 5 or 6, suggests one authority; it is as  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 134, replies the Financial Reform Association.

Far be it from us to underrate statistics when taken in all their length and breadth, when patiently studied and carefully weighed: but this is not the shape in which they are brought before the public. The public tolerates nothing beyond a brief summing-up of the details of this dry science; and too often, in the hands of party advocates, statistics are nothing better than the pack of cards with which a skilful conjurer cheats bystanders.

We shall not therefore enter into any calculations founded on what Mr. Courtney (even while he uses them) rightly calls 'guess-work figures;' our object is rather to examine the soundness of those views of fiscal policy which have been gradually gaining ground for the last eighteen years, and are now manifested in the demand for a complete change from Indirect to Direct Taxation. When Sir Robert Peel imposed the Income-Tax in 1842, the *Edinburgh Review* attacked him for putting on a 'war tax' in time of peace, while the *Quarterly* defended him on the ground that it was not simply a war but an 'emergency' tax, justifiable in all cases of emergency. But since then, we may notice a gradual change of tone in our periodical literature. We became accustomed to the idea of an income tax, and only grumbled at its amount; we learnt to admit its principle, and simply objected to its details: we even began to think there might be political advantages in Direct Taxation, if it were not carried too far: and so one liberal measure succeeded another, and trade flourished, and England grew rich; until the wayward and provoking policy of the Chancellor of the Exchequer last session produced a reaction, and suggested the inquiry whether other causes might not have influenced England's prosperity, and whether we had not reached the safe limit of Direct Taxation.

Sir Robert Peel's as the first, and Mr. Gladstone's as the last, great Free-Trade measure, form but the introduction of that which the Financial Reformers tell us is yet to be. They propose no less than the total abolition of Customs and Excise duties, and the substitution of a direct tax of four shillings in the pound. This proposition seems the more extraordinary from its coming in contact with all our preconceived ideas of easy payments. Apart from taxation, we should all admit that the easiest and pleasantest way of paying a debt would be to have

it taken gradually and imperceptibly out of our pockets. Political economists may tell us that there is no real difference between a shilling a week and two pounds twelve a year, and certainly a sum in arithmetic would establish this assertion; but when we put the coins into the hands of living men, other elements at once enter into the calculation; for thrift and waste start up to make one payment easy, and the other difficult. Even convenience is an item in the account; for if a man can better adjust his burdens, they become, in effect, lighter to him. Then, too, a payment is not only easier, but really less, by being divided among many persons. A shilling a week out of a poor man's wages is, perhaps, threepence less for the alehouse, and ninepence less for his wife; and in his wife's hands the ninepence becomes a mouthful less bread and potatoes to each child at each meal, spared for a few weeks without actual harm to any one; whereas a sudden payment of ten shillings would have entailed on the whole family a week's want or a week's debt. Lastly, there is the effect on a man's imagination of burdens regarded *en masse*. 'Do you know,' said a vulgar Chartist orator, who was trying to inflame his ignorant auditory by broad statements of royal expenditure,—'Do you know how much the Queen spends every year in milk?' We ourselves have heard an argument on church rates founded on the amount of money spent every year in England in sacramental wine. It looked enormous certainly, but so does every expense taken *en masse*. We suspect that most men would feel something like radical disaffection towards our expensive English government, after they had summed up every shilling which, in the shape of rate or tax, they had paid in the course of a year. And how much money should we raise for philanthropic objects, if we asked for five, ten, or twenty pounds *down*, instead of perpetual dribbles of half-crowns and sovereigns?

All these things considered, we may safely say that Indirect Taxation, scattered in small sums, over sundry objects, and among many persons, is not necessarily the best mode,—for there are many other points to be considered,—but, *ceteris paribus*, best in this, that it is easiest to bear.

On the other hand it may be alleged, that Direct Taxation is the most just, the most moral, the cheapest, and, finally, the best for trade.

Now before we examine these separate points, let us observe that a change so great as to produce a general re-distribution of wealth, can only be advocated on the ground of high and manifest advantage. It is not enough to prove that one mode is a little more just, or moral, or cheap than another: this might

be sufficient to make us keep the change steadily in sight as an object to which our legislation should gradually tend; but it is not sufficient to justify a sudden transition in our fiscal policy which, whatever be its ultimate effects, involves immediate gain to one half of the nation, at the price of immediate loss to the other.

Now to the proof. If Indirect Taxation is to be condemned on the ground of inequality and injustice, we must presume that its opponents have some plan more just and equal to propose. What do they propose? 1. 'A sufficient impost on all real property and invested means, leaving mere income and wages entirely free.' That is to say, half the nation are to bear all the burden, the other half none. Is this just and equal? 2. 'A tax of four shillings in the pound on all real property and invested capital, and a capitation tax of £1 a head.' That is to say, the mechanic at £1 a week, and the barrister at £100 a week, are to pay the same capitation tax, while real property pays all the rest. Is this just and equal? 3. 'A capitalization of all incomes, from that of the possessor of thousands to that of the daily labourer, and a per-centage on the estimated interest of the capital.'\* This, though rigidly just, is so difficult of application as to have been pronounced impracticable. Mr. Courtney's pamphlet, written to show its practicability, shows the difficulty still more: nay, we incline to think that most people unacquainted with business would need to have his explanation explained. Undoubtedly our present fiscal system will bear to be improved; but on the score of justice we must look to improvement, not to abolition, if the advocates for a change have nothing better to offer.

But, secondly, Indirect Taxation is alleged to be immoral. 'We see some of the results of this system in smuggling, adulterations, frauds of all kinds, crowded jails and workhouses, and a frightful amount of out-door pauperism.'† These are sufficiently vague accusations. It is begging the whole question to assume that Indirect Taxation pauperizes a nation. And it will be time to put the blame of adulteration on the excise duties when we get untaxed commodities pure. As to smuggling, there is no law on earth which does not insure sin in the certain breach of it; and smuggling is to Indirect that which lying is to Direct Taxation. They are the modes by which unprincipled men contrive to escape those particular payments, and we apprehend they come under precisely the same law. It is notorious that if we increase excise duties beyond a healthy point, we shall lessen the revenue by the premium given to smuggling; and this in spite

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\* *Financial Reform Report*, 1859.

† *Ibid.*, 1860, p. 16.

of the heaviest penalties. Are we then to assume that an income tax can be increased indefinitely while the easy evasion of lying is close at hand? We cannot calculate the amount of falsehood which would be developed under a four-shilling income tax, but the analogy of smuggling may suggest how partial and self-defeating such an impost would be. Even under a rate of ninepence per pound, Mr. Gladstone is compelled to admit the 'enormously immoral' character of the returns made on trade profits. Yet if, to escape this evil, we put the tax on realized property, and leave income free, we only exchange falsehood for injustice. Shall we not throw back the charge of immorality on those who, in their zealous advocacy of Free Trade, would deluge England with untaxed spirits? On this point, they go beyond their spokesman Mr. Bright; for he, at least, would retain spirit and tobacco duties.

Thirdly, Direct Taxation is affirmed to be cheapest, as not only being collected at less cost, but wasting less. On this point the discrepancy between varying statements is so enormous, that it is difficult to give any fair view of the subject. Authorities do not differ much on the direct cost of collection. In *The Cost of Customs and Excise Duties*, (page 14,) it is stated to be about  $6\frac{1}{4}$  per cent., while the opposite party make it  $4\frac{3}{4}$  or 5 per cent. On the other hand, the charge of collecting a direct property tax is placed by the Financial Reform Association as low as 2 per cent., or even less. Suppose we take their own figures— $6\frac{1}{4}$  against 2 per cent. They must grant to us a little decrease of the former, by those improvements in fiscal policy which we all wish to see, better management, more economy, &c.; and also a little increase of the latter, from two inevitable causes. If we have a very heavy property tax, we shall need quarterly payments, which will increase the collectors' work and pay: also it will then be more necessary to carry out a closer surveyance by government instead of local officers; and this, too, involves some increase of cost. If 2 per cent is a little increased, and  $6\frac{1}{4}$  a little decreased, the difference is not worth the attention of a great nation, unless other advantages unite with the small economy. It is the indirect effect of customs and excise duties, the loss caused by delay and needless outlay of capital, which (including charges of collection) is rated by the Financial Reformers at 134 per cent. ! And here we must needs say that in their little tract, *Cost of Customs and Excise Duties*, the dealers' profits are most systematically and unfairly entangled with the government duties, until it is impossible to say how much belongs to one, and how much to the other. Its schedules, with their hundreds of thousands of figures, seem constructed only to bewilder the eye; and we shall take the liberty to go through



the same calculations with simple figures, to show how fallacious they are. One great item of waste in Indirect Taxation is stated thus: If to £20, cost of production, government adds £10 duty, the manufacturer must receive fair profits on an outlay of £30; and every successive dealer must also have fair profits on his increased outlay. Hence results great multiplication of expense to the consumer, which is to be referred to the fact of a government duty. The waste of this process has been estimated by different writers at 5, 10, 25, 70, and 100 per cent. on the original government charge. Now, to refer it to the government charge without reference to the dealers' profits, shows an utter confusion of ideas. We must first find out what are the dealers' profits, exclusive of duty; next, what they are inclusive; and the difference between them will be the difference made by the government charge. So far from its being a fixed quantity, it is a variable quantity, expressed by this invariable rule: As is the difference between cost of production inclusive and exclusive of duty, so is the difference in the retail price inclusive and exclusive of duty. That is to say, if government imposes a tax of 10 per cent. on the original cost, the consumer pays 10 per cent. on the dealers' profits; and if the government imposes cent. per cent. on the first cost, the consumer pays cent. per cent. on the profits. Any one who will take the trouble to work out the following simple sums, will see that the invariability of this rule is beyond all question.

	First Cost, Exclusive of Duty.	First Cost, Inclusive of Duty.		
		25 per cent.	50 per cent.	100 per cent.
Manufacturer's profits	20 0 0	25 0 0	30 0 0	40 0 0
7½ per cent. makes it...	21 10 0	26 17 6	32 5 0	43 0 0
Wholesale dealer's profits	23 13 0	29 11 3	35 9 6	47 6 0
10 per cent. makes it...				
Retailer's profits	26 0 3½	32 10 4½	39 0 5½	52 0 7½
10 per cent. makes it...				
Subtract original cost ...	20 0 0	25 0 0	30 0 0	40 0 0
Consumer pays to dealers	6 0 3½	7 10 4½	9 0 5½	12 0 7½

The Financial Reformers perhaps will say, 'So you grant that the consumer has in some cases to pay cent. per cent.:—what more do we ask?' Softly, friends; you do not see how little this cent. per cent. implies. If the original cost is doubled, of course the consumer must pay double: how could he justly pay *less*? All that we say is, he never pays *more*: there is no mysterious waste and multiplication of expense, as you have been led to suppose by your confusion of first cost with dealers' profits. That which the government imposes, is strictly equivalent to that

which the consumer loses. We will prove this by another simple sum. We have taken the rate of prices and profits from schedule 3 in *The Cost of Customs and Excise Duties*, merely using units and tens instead of its bewildering hundreds of thousands.

	240 lbs. of tea at 1s. 2d. per lb.	Do., includ- ing duty of 2s. 2½d. per lb.	Difference invested in sugar and currants.
	14 0 0	40 5 0	26 5 0
Add dealer's profit, 7½ per cent.....	15 1 0	43 5 4½	28 4 4½
Add retailer's profit, 25 per cent. ....	18 16 3	54 1 8½	35 5 5½
Subtract first cost .....	14 0 0	40 5 0	26 5 0
Consumer pays dealers .....	4 16 3	13 16 8½	9 0 5½

The duty on tea changes an outlay of £14. into £40. 5s., and the consumer pays a strictly proportionate difference, £13. 16s. 8½d. But suppose the duty removed, and the difference invested in sugar and currants, the consumer will buy that very quantity of sugar and currants with the very sum he saved in tea: in other words, he will gain precisely as much as government loses, but neither more nor less.\* And the dealers' profits will remain precisely the same; for they gain exactly the same per-centage on their outlay whether they invest it in tea, sugar, and currants, or in tea alone. The real advantage of cheap trade is won not so much from extension as from time. Extended consumption implies quickened consumption; and if a dealer can *turn* his £40. 5s. twice instead of once, he will double his profits, and consequently be able to lower his price. Thus delay entails a higher price to the consumer; and we must candidly admit that some delay is necessarily entailed by customs and excise duties. The 'bonding system' has been introduced to lessen this evil by sparing capital for quicker returns, which would otherwise have been locked up in duties on warehoused goods. It is impossible to say how much may be lost by delay; and, with no data for assertion or denial, the Financial Reformers might as safely have said 230 as 130 per cent. We have been thus explicit on the question of expense, because the above-mentioned confusion of a government charge with dealers' profits forms the staple argument of the cheap periodicals published by the Financial Reform Association.

Lastly, it is said, a change from Indirect to Direct Taxation

\* Observe—he does not gain the same amount in *money* which the government loses, but he gains the very article, the very quantity which the Government charge would procure if it were withdrawn from one commodity and invested in another.

would greatly benefit trade and traders. Let us note some of the effects of such a change. 1. When indirect taxes are sufficiently lowered to affect retail prices, the consumer profits directly, the producer or importer indirectly: for example, when the duty on tea is lessened fourpence a pound, the consumer expects to get his tea fourpence a pound cheaper. Of this benefit the producer is not supposed to get any share; but as the lowered price is sure to increase the demand, the trader benefits indirectly by quickened consumption. 2. When duties are lowered too little to affect retail prices, the whole profit belongs to the trader, and the consumer gains nothing. 3. When duties on raw materials are lowered, the producer gains immediately and largely, the consumer remotely, and probably in a smaller degree.

The latter clause will be denied by some political economists. They will prove to us by the most rigid demonstration that just so far as cost of production is lessened by lowered duties on raw material, just so far will the price of the finished article be ultimately lowered to the consumer. Ultimately perhaps; but just in proportion as it is ultimate, it is less profit to the consumer than to the producer. The latter's profit is not ultimate but immediate; for he actually pays less for his raw material; and it is by no means certain that he obtains less *to the same degree* on the finished article. On the contrary, we may be sure that he, and the wholesale dealer, and the retailer give as little and keep as much as they can. Political economists tell us that competition among tradesmen will soon beat down prices to their proper level; and so they would if competition were the only selfishness that comes into play; but there is an opposite form of that powerful motive, of which political economists take no account. A tradesman is willing to lower his prices to increase his trade, but he is also willing to heighten them to increase his profits; and if young tradesmen without business or connexions are inclined to do the first, old tradesmen, whose widely extended custom makes them feel secure, are more apt to do the second. Look at a new shop with its tempting list of low-priced articles—*fair* low prices let us suppose, not prices below cost, offered to the public at a dead loss. If the argument of political economists were true, such shops would in time drag down the prices of the other shops to their own level; but they do no such thing: on the contrary, as soon as they are well established in business, *their* prices go up. The producer has a well known advantage over the consumer, admitted in the common sarcasm that prices always rise quicker than they fall. Of course they do. If any rise in the price of raw material increases the cost of production, the producer will not turn out his goods at a loss,

and consequently prices must and do rise immediately; but if any fall in the price of raw material lessens the cost of production, the consumer has often to complain that prices *ought* to fall before competition beats down the tendency to keep up high trade profits. The case is just this, that in any change in the market the producer rights himself, while the consumer must wait to be righted by competition among producers. We say nothing of those mysterious tricks of trade by which consumers so often suffer, of false scarcities and false rumours of scarcity, &c.; nor of the fact patent to all, that better articles can often be bought at one dealer's than at another's, at the same price. Why do not the public flock to the better dealer's? Why? because the public are not marbles to obey a simple fillip of the thumb, but men swayed by a hundred different forces:—by fashion, by habit, by established connexion, often by existing debt, which must be liquidated before they can forsake the worse for the better tradesman. By all these reasons—by the trader's selfish tricks and *esprit de corps*, and love of large profits, by the favourable terms which well established firms can make for themselves in the market, and by the many motives which prevent the public from always buying at the cheapest dealer's, the principle of competition is strongly kept in check; and thus it is that the consumer so partially and distantly benefits by the abolished duties which bring large and immediate profits to the producer and dealer.

Thus it appears, 1. That when duties on articles of consumption are lowered to an amount which affects retail prices, the consumer benefits directly, the trader indirectly. 2. That when duties are lowered or abolished on raw material, the trader profits largely and immediately, the consumer partially and distantly. 3. That when small duties which do not affect retail prices are abolished, the trader takes all the benefit: in other words, in one case he gains much, in the second he gains most, in the third he gains all. Can we wonder if the whole class of traders are in favour of the change from Indirect to Direct Taxation? Yet surely it would be more honest to rest the question on this ground alone, and not raise the cry of justice and morality in the cause of fiscal reform agitation. In this respect we must contrast the party zeal of the Financial Reform publications with the calm statements of Leone Levi. With the exception of one chapter, we recommend his book as a good summary of the history of taxation and expenditure, and for the candour and clearness with which it notices the mingled good and evil that attend both the Direct and Indirect systems. The exceptional chapter is that on 'Distribution of Taxation,' in

which, after repudiating 'calculations which can be but nominal and imaginative,' he indulges in arithmetical enormities which beat Liverpool out of the field. Yet the whole tone of the book is so honest that we can only regard this chapter of wild hypothesis as another instance of the bewildering effects of those conjuring cards, statistics.

It would need a great financier to settle the details of a just and wise fiscal system; but we may learn something of the principles which should regulate it, from the complaints and difficulties of all parties. It seems impossible so to adjust any particular sort of tax, that it shall weigh fairly on all classes. The Financial Reformers tell us that taxes on consumption weigh too heavily on the working classes. Writers on local taxes tell us that these weigh heavily on land, and stifle agricultural improvements; and professional men are equally sure that an income tax weighs unduly on mere income. Yet taxes on consumption for the working classes are easiest to bear, and local taxes *must* be put upon houses and land, and income can only be included in state charges by an income tax. What alternative, then, remains, but so to regulate these various sorts of taxes, that the undue pressure of one may be compensated by the lightness of another? If labour is to pay its share, it must do it easily, by wise and just duties imposed on articles of consumption. If income is to pay its share, it must do it by a low, steady rate of income tax (understood to be a settled part of our national charges for the very purpose of including income, and not the ready-to-hand device of bad financiers and reckless state-spendthrifts). If land is to pay its share, it must do it by local rates and taxes; and if trade is to pay its share, it must do it by the same system of well-adjusted tariffs which is to include the consumer also. It may be said that under such an arrangement traders and land-owners would pay treble,—as consumers, as possessors of income, and also specially as traders and land-owners. Just so, they pay under many aspects, because they stand under many aspects. The artisan who has no stake in the country but his labour, no support but uncertain wages, pays only as consumer; and the poor professional, clerk, curate, village doctor, &c., freed by his poverty from all charge of income tax, would do the same. The richer professional enjoys a larger income, with the comfort and station belonging to it; and he pays double,—as consumer, and as possessor of income. But Mill showed long ago that income which dies with the holder, is not equal to the same income if inheritable; he said, and said truly, that a lawyer with £500 a year was not in the same position as a land-owner with £500 a year. Land repre-

sents more than income; it is stable and inheritable income; it also gives a social status which belongs to no other sort of property. So too with the income derived from trade; it is inheritable income, not as stable as land, nor having the same *prestige*, but springing from larger profits, for which it ought justly to pay.\*

But there is another sort of property, which, without an income tax, pays nothing to the State, and even with an income tax does not pay its just proportion,—funded property. A physician who makes £800 a year, and an idle gentleman who receives the same from stocks or debentures, have hitherto paid exactly the same income tax; and nothing can be more unfair. It has been proposed to make professional income pay half or two-thirds of that which income from investment pays; but even this would not set the injustice right. For we must suppose that in a good system of taxation the rate of income tax is so adjusted to tariff imposts, and local rates and taxes, as to take from mere income only its fair proportion; we want, therefore, a *raised* rate for investment income, not a *lowered* rate for professions and salaries; and we would suggest that for funded property there should be a separate investment tax, retained as the income tax is retained on all public dividends. Such a tax would represent the fixed proportion which funded property should pay to the State; and so far it would be analogous to local rates paid by land, and trade imposts paid by commerce. Funded property is secure, inheritable, less troublesome and often more profitable than landed property; yet hitherto (apart from temporary income taxes) it has borne no charge at all. The receiver of £300 a year from Midland dividends has actually paid no other sort of tax than the man who makes his boots:—they each pay indirectly on the taxed articles they consume, and that is all.

In this balanced system of finance, the variable income of wages would pay its State charge by the artisan's variable consumption. Fixed income would pay this, and also a low income tax. Income from funded property would pay these, and an investment tax; income from land, these, and local rates; income from trade, these, and trade imposts. It would need a first-rate genius in finance to unite these different elements in one scientific system; but it needs no genius to grasp the main

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\* We must be careful not to confound the *rate* of payment with the *amount* of payment. The *amount* depends on the *amount* of income, the *rate* depends on the *nature* of income. Thus, a salary of £150 per annum will pay less than an estate of £100 per annum, because the higher *rate* paid by land will more than compensate for the difference in amount.



idea, that taxation, to be just and wise, must recognise not only the amount of income, but the relative advantages which the sort of income confers. Money is but one part of our social well-being; and the system of finance which took no account of its other elements could never rise above Custom-House routine into a national science: it could never be more to the ruler than party trickery, or temporary expediency, or a happy inspiration of genius; it could never be more to the people than a hard and loathed necessity. For our part, we would gladly see social improvement more clearly recognised in our fiscal policy. There are many national habits which may be influenced by taxation; and, though it needs care and wisdom to influence them aright, we can have no sympathy with those who pooh-pooh the idea that taxation is to take anything into account beyond the raising of revenue. That is a piece of childishness which we wonder to hear grown men indulge in; for, in the first place, morals have a great deal to do with the raising of revenue. If souls were given for no higher purpose, clean and healthy souls help a nation to grow rich! But, secondly, it is absurdly inconsistent to maintain that rulers should not recognise in the raising of revenue those principles which they recognise in spending it. When we suppress our education grants, and reduce Parliament to 'the highest police court in England,' we may consistently ignore the ill effects of immoral taxation. But if we do ignore them, they will not come less certainly, or less soon. No one who has seen the effects of the people's 'Cheap Beer Bill' in the torrent of drunkenness which inundates our country towns and hamlets, but will be forced to acknowledge that, if we cannot make men religious by Act of Parliament, we can make them irreligious by it with great success.

We have said that a small income tax should form part of a well-adjusted scheme of taxation, for the purpose of including those whose only property is income: but also for another purpose,—to have machinery ready at hand to meet great state emergencies. A heavy income tax must always be our resource in time of war, or in that costly preparation for war which is the best guarantee of peace. When such emergencies occur, it is an immense advantage to have at hand the machinery necessary to raise an extra ten millions without cost or delay beyond that of obtaining the assent of Parliament. This very advantage is regarded with a jealous eye by those who, disapproving of an income tax as part of our regular system of taxation, dread their rulers' willingness to use such ready means on less occasions than great state emergencies. But the best check on any such abuse is an improved state of public feeling and knowledge on

the subject of taxation. A little reflection will show us that a large increase of the income tax in times of no special emergency is a mode of replenishing the exchequer equally blundering and oppressive. To understand this we must recall what we have already said of the different rate of payments made by different sorts of income. If £100 a year in wages pays so much to the State, incomes of £100 a year would pay more, rents or trade profits of £100 a year still more. Say—it is no matter what we say, for we are using figures to illustrate, not to prove our position—say that out of that £100, labour pays four, income six, land and trade eight pounds to the State; then it is evident, that to double the income tax would immediately alter their relative proportions. Professional men, land-owners, and merchants, would all pay the additional two pounds, and labour would pay no part of it; so that the new adjustment would stand thus,—labour four, income eight, land and trade ten. But if we assume that the first arrangement was fair and just, the second becomes oppressive and unjust; for the artisan pays less, and the clerk or curate more, than his fair proportion. It is this which makes an increase of the income tax in times of peace and prosperity such a blundering and objectionable means of raising revenue.

‘But this would be just the same in time of war.’ Not exactly; for one of the few redeeming points of war is, that it forces men to think of something higher than their pockets. The statesman appeals to his country on another ground. ‘You see,’ he says, ‘that the money must be had, and that we have no time for refined adjustment of our fiscal system. I do not offer you this clumsy device for raising money as the best abstractedly, but as the best possible, nay, as alone possible in this pressing emergency. Give, “not grudgingly or of necessity,” not measuring the sum required of you to a hair’s breadth, but as Englishmen should give, cheerfully and manfully, to meet the exigency of England.’ We need not go back for precedents to the old time when men gave their money without rule, and used it without reckoning in the true and honest purpose inspired by a national object. (2 Kings xii. 9–15.) All nations, the weakest and the worst, are capable of foregoing personal interests for a time, in the enthusiasm of a common welfare and danger; and hence it is that a heavy income tax, suddenly and clumsily imposed in time of war, is readily borne, as being that which is best fitted to meet the necessity of the case.

But an increase of the usual income tax should be understood to be a temporary measure, always to be followed by scientific adjustment, if the cause of the pressure be prolonged. In any

war that weighs heavily on trade, and consequently on labour, real property *must* bear unusual burdens, because trade is not in a state to bear them; and in such a case an income tax should not go on increasing indefinitely, (thereby weighing too heavily on mere income,) but be followed by an increase in the investment tax, and a new tax on land, thrown exceptionally (to suit a passing emergency) on the possessor, not the occupier, of estates. But if the war were at a distance, not affecting trade more than property, the income tax might be indefinitely increased, always provided that mere income (professions, salaries, &c.) should pay but half or two-thirds of the rate levied on income derived from other sources. Also, if the pressure on the country were very great, we think that in justice the limits of the income tax should descend from £100 to £50 per annum,—in justice, not perhaps in mercy. In a very rich country like England this is just one of the cases in which riches might gracefully and cheerfully bear away some of the burdens that belong to poverty. And yet the question is difficult: incomes from £50 to £100 a year include the richest and poorest of two separate classes,—the richest artisans and the poorest professionals; and it is difficult to decide whether these ought to be burdened, or those to go free.

Great stress has been laid on Mr. Gladstone's simplification of the tariff; as if simplification, good in itself, could never be carried too far. Now simplicity in laws and forms of government has one great advantage,—facility and promptitude in action; and so far it has always been the ready minister of power, barbarous or civilized. The chieftain of an Asiatic horde or the despot of an European nation can afford to have simple rules of state; but it is reserved for constitutional governments to rule not by simple but by complex laws, which balance interest against interest, and use one form of human selfishness to keep another in check. It is equally the blessing and curse of free institutions to be obliged to barter simplicity for stability; and on this ground it is not an advantage that fiscal laws should be too simple, or too easily changed. It is not good that any such facility should throw a great nation at the mercy of every blundering financier who might chance to have a majority in the House of Commons, or at the mercy of its own shortsightedness, impatience, and caprice. Indirect Taxation carries with it a barrier against excess in the check it puts upon consumption: we *cannot* increase Customs and Excise duties beyond a certain point; we cannot double them at the want or whim of the moment: they have a point of equilibrium, and beyond this we may tamper with them in vain. So it was proved in 1842, (to

name no other instances,) when Sir Robert Peel placed additional duties on Irish spirits, and was forced to repeal the law in the following Session in consequence of the deficiency of revenue caused by increased smuggling. It is good and safe for a great nation to have both taxes that are easy, and taxes that are not easy, to change; to have some machinery ready for emergencies, and some fitted to resist temporary pressure. But if Direct is to be completely substituted for Indirect Taxation, it will be too easy to increase the national burdens. At present an income tax is but one means out of many for raising revenue, and one so jealously regarded, that a statesman risks his popularity in raising it even from sevenpence to tenpence without good cause. But let it embrace the whole of our taxation, and be, as some propose, four shillings in the pound, it will seem little or nothing to add another threepence whenever a bad financier and his obsequious Parliament please. To no statesman and to no Parliament should such easy exercise of power be allowed: or if Parliament be pleasantly deemed the representative of the nation, no nation should desire such unrestrained power over itself, that an eloquent budget and a party majority might, in a rapid 'three readings,' insure the oppression of a whole year. We do not sufficiently take into account the *vis inertiae* of a great people in time of prosperity, nor its unwise impatience when times are bad. When England is good-humoured, she bears an immense amount of financial blundering, bears when she had better resist, bears on and on, until some change of times for the worse brings grumbling to the acting point, and then up rises the nation, and down go the taxes, hastily and unwisely, and often to the confusion of finance. Both the *vis inertiae* of a good-humoured and the impatience of an irritated people, alike forbid that proposed facility in taxation which would make us so dependent on the caprice of a single session.

The war-cry of a party generally hides under it this mischievous error, that it raises a present want into a permanent exaction. Thus it has been with the cry of Free Trade. Trade was once a serf in England, and reasonably struggled to be free; but now in its time of triumph the principle of Free Trade is asserted as something that is to be carried on and on without shackle or limit. As if the very idea of a principle did not imply a limit!—for a principle is but a true part of universal truth, which must find its check and balance somewhere, if it is to be preserved from degenerating into error. Why do we ask unlimited freedom for trade? There is nothing on earth that is, or can, or ought to be absolutely free. Unlimited freedom is

but another name for unlimited power; and whether that be conferred on a person, class, or principle, onesidedness and tyranny are sure to be close at hand. Truly it may be said that trade is the life-blood of England, but the very use of that image warns us of possible dangers. The blood is but one part of the life; and he who pampers its increase at the expense of nerves and muscles, may grow ruddy and obese only to end in apoplexy at last. It may very possibly be, that trade has prospered England all the more for not having too riotously prospered itself; for having been in some measure kept in check by the very interests which are now required to give way to it. At least, we shall not lightly assume that because its partial enfranchisement has been an advantage to the nation, its complete and absolute dominion will be a greater advantage. Reasoning *à priori*, we should expect the contrary; for a nation's prosperity is built on the full development of many principles; and it is next to impossible that the overweening dominance of one should not tend to stifle and destroy others.

Now let us notice some of the effects of the proposed substitution of Direct for Indirect Taxation, especially on those who are not immediately profited by the change; that is, on all who are not personally interested in trade.

The first is, an uncomfortable sense of loss. With few exceptions, (tea, spirits, tobacco, &c.,) the price of retail articles would be little altered. A man's wife would have to pay a trifle less on several articles, and hardly feel the difference, while the man himself would have to part with a slice of his income, and feel it very sensibly. We must add to this the actual loss on the value of property by depreciation. An income tax of four shillings in the pound is so much less income from an investment, and makes a corresponding difference in its market price. Such a tax would take property from its owners as completely as if a vote of Parliament should transfer one-sixth of the land of England to national commissioners for the benefit of the whole nation; in fact, it is nothing more nor less than such a transfer. Now the first question is not of ultimate benefit, but of abstract right and justice. Hitherto Englishmen have never repudiated the claim to honest payment for value received; we would not even take away Jamaica's slaves without giving her twenty millions for her unlawful possessions. Nay, in our civil law we show our high sense of justice in the Statute of Limitations, which was specially framed to soften the collision of two undoubted rights,—the right of original and the right of present possession. We think that our Financial Reformers would do well to study the principle of this just and

wise statute. It might teach them that individual possession and State necessity, are mutual limitations of each other; and that though there are some sacrifices which the State has a right to demand, there are others which it has no right to demand from its children. According to the pressure of its need is the measure of its lawful claims: in much danger it may require much, even to the burning of Moscow. But what government would dare to burn Moscow in time of peace for the future good of Russia? Just so, if England were withering away under some pernicious system of finance,—her resources crippled, her welfare endangered, her very existence at stake,—she might justly demand a costly sacrifice, even though it were a sixth of the whole property of the realm. But to demand it now, when other means can supply the funds we need, when, under a mixed system of finance, and by a happy balance of different interests, we are flourishing as no other nation under equal pressure has ever flourished; to demand it now in a time of prosperous trade and abundant wealth, would be a gigantic injustice unparalleled in the history of nations.

We must do the Financial Reformers the justice to say that many of them have fully persuaded themselves that the change from Indirect to Direct Taxation would so wonderfully stimulate national prosperity, and so raise the value of all fixed property, as to give back to its possessors more than it takes away: and on this ground they are willing to cut off a comfortable slice of all realized property, whether its owners are willing or not. They remind us of the story in *Sandford and Merton* of a youthful philosopher's decision between two of his schoolfellows. A big boy with a jacket too small for him, wished to make an exchange with a smaller boy who had a jacket too large for him; and, not being able to convince the prejudiced lad of the general uncomfortableness of his own clothes, effected the change by force. Why not? Was not the transfer good for both parties? was it not certain that the small boy would soon feel the benefit? was it not more in agreement with abstract fitness? was it not in accordance with what would, and should, and might, and ought to have been the original distribution of property? So thought the little umpire to whom the disputants appealed; and he accordingly decided, that the big boy should keep the big jacket, and the little boy the little one. But his master punished the umpire, telling him 'that he was not made judge to examine which coat best fitted either of the boys, but to decide whether it was just that the great boy should take away the coat of the little one against his consent.'

It is quite possible that increased commerce and its increased



wealth might raise the value of land and its produce; but just in proportion as it did this it would interfere with the cheap prices which we are so liberally promised;—and interfere with them most inconveniently, giving us dear meat, bread, butter, and potatoes, in the place of dear tea, sugar, and spirits. Such a change would be anything but gain to the working man. On this point the Financial Reformers have overshot their mark. We cannot possibly admit that Direct Taxation would give lowered prices to the consumer, *and* higher prices to the farmer and landlord; nor is this double-faced argument (alternately presented as a bribe to both parties) worthy of any writer who rises above mere party advocacy.

But this effect on land and its produce is hypothetical and distant; the immediate result of a complete change from Indirect to Direct Taxation would be to give undue prominence and profit to trade, at the expense of all investments. Even now, we can scarcely say that a fair balance is kept up between trade and funded property. The four or five per cent., which is the utmost that can be obtained from investment, is so much below the rate of trade profits, that the stability of one does not weigh down the instability of the other. Even now the huge profits of trade are tempting our whole nation into habits of speculation, habits on which our full bankruptcy lists are the most practical comment. Funded property justly ought to bear its own share in taxation; but this once settled, its small and sure returns should not be tacitly depreciated by any further advantage given to more profitable, more speculative commerce. It is not good for us, as a nation, that the temptations of speculation should be largely increased by a system of legislation which is tending more and more to make the acquisition of wealth the great—we might almost say, the sole—test of national welfare.

There is also, at present, a sort of balance between landed property and commerce. The three-and-a-half per cent., which is the utmost interest expected from land, is so much enhanced by the social position and political influence which land confers, that even the great profits of trade do not prevent our wealthy merchants from investing large sums in estates. It is not good for the nation that this healthy balance should be disturbed by new benefits heaped upon trade. The question is not whether trading or landed interests are most important to the nation; but whether the fair development of both is not absolutely essential to national welfare. It is not as different 'interests,' but as yielding different types of character, that both are so necessary to England. Look at the characteristics of trade,—industry, energy, enterprise, all concentrated on the single

question of profit and loss; and the natural result of such concentration,—deficiency in taste and imagination, of high chivalrous feeling, and sensitiveness of honour. Look at the characteristics of the country gentleman,—uprightness, honour, sturdiness of conviction, pugnacity of temper, slowness and narrowness of thought. The very *physique* of the two classes speaks volumes. England wants both the ruddy muscular strength of the country, and the nervous cerebral activity of great cities; she cannot do without both, without both well developed under favouring circumstances. We are not to stunt the life of the country under a sense of national ill-usage. No class can possibly flourish, or furnish its quota to the general welfare, if it be labouring under chronic and abiding discontent; and no land-owner can possibly be contented to suffer in his purse, at the very time when political movements threaten to deprive him of that influence which was one great compensation for the low rate of interest on his investment.

Finally, it is not good that trade, and the spirit of trade, should become so overpoweringly dominant, that a great nation should find its highest maxims in questions of profit and loss. Already we see this spirit in that demand for the Free Trade which, apart from all other considerations, is to make England rich. What is the motive that actuates the combatants in this strife? Not right, nor justice, nor a people's growth in wisdom and virtue; but party gain, class gain, national gain. What is it makes us shrink from difficult questions of foreign policy? Not moderation of spirit, but the possible expense of interference. Ay, and what is it makes us quake at the thought of invasion? Not fear of danger, for the English are a gallant-hearted people, and our young men rush to the ranks in double haste at the prospect of war—not fear of danger, O nation of traders! but fear of damage! Nay, this spirit of profit is imbuing our most sacred convictions, and even questions of duty are tested less by truth and righteousness than by good results. We may break the fourth commandment for the health of London, and the second for the peace of India. Above all things is this evil spirit to be dreaded in the treatment of those high questions which touch a people's deepest welfare. Moral principles are pre-eminently indirect and slow in working out results, and one man or one generation must often sow the seed, without a hope of reaping the fruit; nay, the seed must sometimes be sown in reproach and present loss. It is horrible to hear a little trader advised to shut his shop on Sunday, with the assurance that God will make it up to him in one way or another. God will make it up, verily, but not necessarily to him. The right done is as a

little seed sown which will bear good fruit in time, though the sower may have no share in the gain. That is the law laid down by the great Lawgiver Himself. 'Lo, we have left all and followed Thee.' 'Yet you shall have these things again, Peter—not you individually—you are working not for yourself, but for your race. Those good things of this world which you forsake for the truth, the truth shall secure for this world tenfold; but remember—it must be "with persecutions"—the general progress shall be bought by individual loss.' So many things have gone wrong in the world that we may be sure there will be heavy cost in setting them right, and often no immediate gain. Wyndham said well, 'Honesty is the best policy; but he who acts on the maxim is not an honest man;' and so we may say of a nation,—justice and righteousness are gainful, but the people who think chiefly of the gain will not long be just or righteous. Yet it was not a philosopher but a poet, who, sixty years ago, upbraided the two great nations of modern times with the faults that cleave to them still,—the Frank for forgetting others' rights in the recklessness of conquest; and the Briton for forgetting his own true welfare in the restlessness of commerce:

'Every land to them must mete its treasure;  
And, like Brennus in those ruder days,  
Here the Frank his ponderous falchion's measure  
In the wavering scale of justice lays;  
There his fleets the Briton, rich and mighty,  
Polypus-like stretches o'er the deep,  
And the kingdom of fair Amphitrite  
Seizes as his own peculiar keep.  
To the South Pole's hidden constellations,  
In his restless, boundless course he flies,  
To all isles, all shores of furthest nations—  
All but thine, forgotten Paradise!'—*Schiller.*

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- ART. IV.—1. *The Church Historians of England. Pre-Reformation Series.* London: Seeleys. 1853, &c.  
 2. *Biographia Britannica Literaria. Anglo-Saxon Period.* By THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A. London: J. W. Parker. 1842.  
 3. *The History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church.* By JOHN LINGARD, D.D. London: Dolman. 1845.  
 4. *The Latin Church during Anglo-Saxon Times.* By HENRY SOAMES, M.A. London: Longman and Co. 1848.  
 5. *Revolutions in English History.* By ROBERT VAUGHAN, D.D. London: J. W. Parker. 1859.

THERE is, as yet, no general history of Christian Missions. The theme is now so large and full, that, perhaps, no one man feels himself equal to it. If there have been proposals to supply, what the Church would rejoice to possess, a comprehensive, accurate, and faithful narrative of all holy efforts to evangelize the heathen, the result has been somewhat like what has followed certain attempts at Cyclopædias of Literature, which have issued in mere lists of private libraries, or in descriptive editions of business catalogues. A particular object is put forth under a general name; or the chronicles of a generation are given as the review of an age; or denominational doings are paraded as the actions of Christendom. And, it may be, we have no right to expect anything else. It remains to be proved whether any man has knowledge, love, and genius enough to write a general history of Christian Missions. Some good monographs, however, adorn this department of literature; and he performs no small service who succeeds in throwing a lasting charm over any one scene of missionary zeal, or in immortalizing the records of a single movement towards the overthrow of Paganism. It is not for us to intrude into the province of the historian; but we are at liberty to indicate those points of interest, or those sections of the historic field, which invite special attention, and which might worthily exercise the ablest pen. Among these England affords, to us at least, the greatest attractions. She is the parent of modern Missions. She has cradled and nourished the institutions which have sent forth life and blessing to the ends of the earth. Everything, therefore, connected with her early Christian life, and first missionary experiments, must be interesting to those who love the Gospel; and especially so to her own children.

England owes her first lesson in Christianity, under God, to Pope Gregory the First. The ancient British Church, whatever it once was, or by whomsoever it was founded, had been scattered as unworthy of its calling; and, when the Pagan Saxons were ready for the truth, its western remnant stood aloof, gloomy in spirit, broken in form, and all but entirely bereft of its power. Its memory is an admonition. How was it that a people like the Britons, partially civilized, yea, to some extent Christianized, and therefore, it may be presumed, advancing rapidly towards intellectual and spiritual maturity,—how was it that such a nation came to be invaded by swarms of Pagans, to be crushed, or swept from the soil, and its homes again numbered, for a time, with the abodes of Heathenism? This question will throw us back on the great principle of a Supreme Moral Government,—a principle which must be continuously recognised and honoured, if the

history of the human family is to be understood. The moral government of God has respect to nations and communities and Churches, as such. The grand ultimate object of Heaven is the purity and happiness of the whole world. Men are gathered together into families and nations, that they may be more effective agents in promoting the great object. The Supreme Ruler marks out the sphere of each community, and prescribes its work. With nations and communities, as well as individuals, faithfulness to the calls of Providence secures prosperity and honour; while moral corruption, abuse of talents, and neglect of duty, are invariably followed by dishonour, distraction, or national death. So says an Oracle to whose decision we bow: 'At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, to pluck up, and to pull down, and to destroy; if that nation against whom I have pronounced turn from their evil, I will repent of what I thought to do unto them. And at what instant I shall speak concerning a nation to build and to plant it; if it do evil in My sight, that it obey not My voice, then I will repent of the good, wherewith I said I would benefit them.'

A melancholy illustration of this is furnished in the condition and fate of the Roman empire, or Christendom, during the fifth century. Contemporary writers, men who were among the pious few, tell us with deep feeling of the moral corruption of the professedly Christian world. 'You think,' cries Salvian, in reply to an infidel objector, 'you think there can be no Divine government of human affairs, inasmuch as the professed servants of God obtain no favour at His hands; and that the Church itself is left to its fate. But see what Christians actually are everywhere; and then ask whether, under the administration of a righteous and holy God, such men can expect any favour. What happens every day under our eye, is rather an evidence of the doctrine of Providence; as it exhibits the Divine displeasure, provoked by the debauchery of the Church itself.' And what was thus said of other parts of Europe may be applied in particular to Britain. Gildas was the British Jeremiah of the sixth century. By turns he exposes the enormities, and weeps over the desolations, of his people. 'If,' says he, 'God's peculiar people, His first-begotten Israel, were not spared when they deviated from the right path, what will He do to the darkness of this our age?—in which, besides all the aggravated sins which it has in common with all the wicked of the world, is found an innate, fixed, and incurable spirit of inconstancy and foolishness. Britain has kings, but they are tyrants; Britain has priests, but they are impudent; she has clerks, but they are deceitful raveners; and pastors, but they are rather wolves pre-

pared for the slaughter of souls. There is every vice to which human nature is liable. Meanwhile, God, still willing to purify us, sends a rumour of foes, who are rapidly approaching to scourge and destroy the land.\* The venerable Bede also declares, that 'all the bonds of sincerity and justice were so entirely broken, that there was not only no trace of them remaining, but few persons seemed to be aware that such virtues had ever existed.' 'To those sins which are not to be described,' says he, 'they added this, that they never preached the faith to the Saxons, or English, who dwelt among them.'† All this is confirmed by the fact, that when the celebrated Germanus, who came over from Gaul to check the spread of Pelagianism in the British Church, had spent some time in catechizing and instructing the troops which were collected to oppose the Saxons, *he baptized the majority of the whole force.* We may infer that, though the British Church had existed above two hundred years, one half of the population were still either idolaters or persons who shrank from that baptism which would place them under the restraints of a Christian profession.

It would appear, then, that the Britons had enjoyed a day of trial, but that they were found faithless. Roman arms had probably opened the way of the Gospel; and pious officials and soldiers, or, it may be, even apostles, had brought the leaven of Christianity to this island. The same instrument who broke up the Jewish Temple, and scattered the faithless Jews, had previously subdued Britain, and laid it out as a fair field for the cultivation of that religion which Jerusalem rejected. Under the mild government of Agricola, the Britons were to some extent rescued from barbarism, and prepared to listen with calmness to the doctrines of truth. That truth was received; and had it been faithfully entertained, and steadily exemplified, it might have saved them: but, alas! they proved that their countryman, Gildas, spoke the truth when he remarked that they were 'ever desirous of hearing something new, but remained constant to nothing long.' They were, perhaps, enervated rather than improved under Roman sway; and suffered themselves at last to become the sport of circumstances. Their country had probably given birth to the mother and son who were the first to range imperial power on the side of the Church; and, what was better, they had enjoyed the labours of such Christians as Ninian, Patrick, Fastidius, Germanus, and Lupus. But, in common with their fellow-subjects on the Continent, they had lost their social vigour, their political health, and, with a

\* Sect. 1, 21, 22, 27, 66.

† *Hist.*, b. i., c. 22.



few eminent exceptions, their religious purity; and were now to give place to the people who were at once a scourge and a blessing. The Teutons, at the time of their descent on this country, were as yet heathen; but they were the chosen instruments of Heaven in renovating and reorganizing the western world, and in preparing Christendom for her benevolent mission

‘To the farthest verge  
Of the green earth.’

But who first ministered to them the truth which touched, and purified, and consecrated their minds and hearts to the nobler service of Him by whose providence they had, so far, been trained? We say again, it was Gregory the Great. Let no Protestant be alarmed; his religion is not in danger. Protestantism must never be blind to truth; nor do its interests ever require us to be unfair. Gregory was a great man. His name is one of the landmarks of history; and his character, in grand outline, will ever remain the most distinguished honour of his generation. He was a man for his times. Shut up in Rome, with savage hordes at the gates, and pestilence, famine, and flood within;—with heresy in the provinces, and the care of every department weighing heavily upon him at home;—he never ‘bated jot of heart or hope,’ but met every demand in turn; always ready, always prompt, always decided, and generally successful. He was modest and simple in his dress; plain in his household; severe to himself, but ceaselessly kind to others. He was at once the domestic economist, the vigilant land-owner, the municipal overseer. Now, he is the watchful diplomatist; then the soldier, superintending his own commissariat, planning his defences, and directing his troops. Now in the pulpit, passionately rousing his flock to spiritual life and action; in the cloisters, keeping his monks to their discipline; in his closet, writing morals on the Book of Job, or keeping up a wide correspondence with kings and queens, ecclesiastics and scholars. Then, in the choir, reforming the Church Service, and giving that musical impulse to the Christian world which will be felt as long as the Gregorian chant continues to charm a human soul. Indeed, he was everything that his Church and his times required. If to us he seems over-credulous, he was only conformed to the fashion of his day; and it is a remarkable fact, that the same reproach, if reproach it be, has been cast upon almost every man who has been a leader of his generation. He appears in one or two cases to have been guilty of flattering those who ought to have been reproved; as when, in his correspondence with the profligate but relic-loving Brunehaut, he declared the French to be happier

than other nations in the character of their sovereign; or when he made heaven and earth rejoice at the accession of the brutal Phocas. In this he set an example of inconsistency which has been too frequently copied by those whose zeal for their favourite object blinds them to the faults of those who help them to success. There is no evidence to sustain the report, that he headed a crusade against the classic remains of his own city. Even that most subtle of all slanderers, Gibbon, expresses a doubt in his favour, when he would have been only too glad to find some reason for a sneer. Gregory was suspicious of pagan literature; but it was for the same reason which would lead a modern pastor to guard his flock against the pernicious influence of graceless novelists.\* His cautioning half-instructed Christians against pagan writings was, at all events, perfectly consistent.

The sight of some young Saxon slaves in the Roman market probably touched his heart, and suggested the first thought of a Mission to England. It is interesting to observe the circumstances under which some of the most happy Missions of the Christian Church took their rise. And, at this point, the history of early and later Missions affords some remarkable parallels. Gregory looked upon some poor Saxon slaves, and his mind conceived the conversion of the land from which they came. A few pious men of Basle, standing at the gates of their native city, in the days of the first Napoleon, saw the pagan ranks of Kalmuks and Tartars, under Russian colours, marching past to the siege of Huningen; and were led by a simultaneous thought to enter into a solemn vow, that if God spared their homes from the impending desolation, they would form a seminary for training Missionaries to the uninstructed hordes which had excited their pity. And thus sprang up an association which is now taking a noble part, not only in the conversion of those who were the first objects of its care, but of India, and in the vernacular instruction of Western Africa. Gregory would fain have entered on the Saxon Mission himself; but he was too valuable a man for Rome to lose. When raised to the Papal chair, amidst all his labours and cares, his favourite scheme was not forgotten. His first

\* Perhaps, if he had lived in our times, and heard an unqualified recommendation of such a periodical as the *London Journal*, he would have vigorously acted the Pope, even though that apologist were Lord Brougham himself. And, by the bye, for a man whose word is so much like law, to appear as the public advocate of 'social science,' and, in that character, to speak favourably of pages which, to speak gently of them, tend to debase the intellect of the young, is, at least, to be guilty of an outrage on propriety and good taste.

purpose was to procure young natives from the slave-market, and have them trained as evangelists to their countrymen. This process, however, was too slow for his impatient zeal. He fell back on his monks; selected a missionary band of nearly forty; and in the year 596 sent them with many exhortations and blessings to the coast of Kent. No one can read his epistle to the consecrated Missionaries without feeling that the man's heart was set upon this work; and that he entered on it in simplicity and godly sincerity. 'Let not the toil of the journey,' says he, 'nor the tongues of evil-speaking men, deter you; but with all possible earnestness and zeal perform that which, by God's direction, you have undertaken; being assured that much labour is followed by greater eternal reward.....May God Almighty protect you with His grace; and grant that I may, in the heavenly country, see the fruits of your labour; inasmuch as, though I cannot toil with you, I may partake in the joy of the reward, because I am willing to labour!'

Not without reason Gregory warned them against 'the tongues of evil-speaking men.' On their way through Gaul, they heard the dangers of their mission magnified, until their courage failed, and Augustine, their leader, went back to pray that they might be recalled. This weakness has been spoken of as a proof that true Christian zeal could never have moved their hearts. But the inference is not fair; the annals of modern Missions might furnish parallels from among those whose evangelical zeal and purity no man doubts.

Augustine and his companions landed in Kent, probably in the autumn of 596. The story of his reception is well known. His way had been prepared by female piety in the royal household. The Queen had held fast her Christianity amidst the temptations of a pagan court. Augustine and his friends gained a hearing, and opened their message. Their difficulties were not very different from those which have many times since beset Missionaries who carried the same truth to 'the regions beyond.' This is remarkably shown in the correspondence between Augustine and his superior at Rome. The customs, manners, tastes, and prejudices of the people involved him in questions which he calls on Gregory to help him in solving; at least he modestly appeals to the judgment of his ecclesiastical father. Hume and men of his school have thought that they had found in the discussion between Augustine and Gregory ample reason for a laugh at 'questions and replies' which they pronounce 'indecent' or 'ridiculous;' and which, in their wisdom, they thought could occur to none but those who had 'sympathy of manners' with 'the ignorant and barbarous

Saxons.' But the modern Missionary, who has come into close contact with heathenism in other climes, may find a striking similarity between the correspondence which was once maintained between Canterbury and Rome, and that which has sometimes passed between Southern Islands or African Coasts, and central Mission Boards in London or America. Like questions turn up; corresponding difficulties occur; and it is well if all modern advisers prove themselves as clear-sighted, judicious, forbearing, and just, as Gregory appears. Whatever else that Pope was, he was consistent. In the spirit of his times, he was disposed to extend the sanction of the Church as far as possible to pagan fashions. Perhaps he went too far in that direction when he laid the foundation of what grew up into parish feasts. But he allowed nothing that was plainly condemned by Christianity as impure. (It has been reserved for a colonial and missionary dignitary of these modern days, to advocate the continuance of polygamy in the infant Churches of Africa!) Gregory, however, sternly required obedience to the New-Testament laws of holy matrimony; and enforced chastity alike on princes and people. There could have been no serious compromise of Christian principle or duty, like that which the Jesuit Missionaries of a later day were guilty of, in attempting the conversion of the Hindoos. They determined to become indeed 'all things to all men,' for the accomplishment of their object; and so far did they carry this policy, that, in the charges eventually lodged against them before the Pope, it was declared to be doubtful whether, by sparing idolatry, and tolerating it among their proselytes, they had not themselves become converts to Hindooism, instead of making the Hindoos converts to the Christian religion. That this was far from being the policy of Augustine and his companions seems plain from the fact, that the permanent results of their labours have rendered it exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to gain a satisfactory view of the mythology and creed of old Saxon heathendom. It is only by the collation of minute and isolated facts, preserved, perhaps, in some popular superstition, legends, or even nursery tales, that we gather the few dim notions we possess. Both the Missionaries and those who chronicled their labours, seem to have made it the business of their lives to destroy the remembrance of former things; and to avoid everything that might recall the past, or remind the converts of the creed or practices of their forefathers. The consecration of heathen temples and places of popular resort to the service of the Christian Church would scarcely have been effected, without allowing some broken elements of the old system to lurk for a time in the habits and

belief of the people. Indeed, some of them may be found among us still. But after all, the work of those first evangelists will bear comparison with any case of island conversion that comes nearest to a parallel in the history of modern Missions. Take New Zealand, for instance. When Bishop Selwyn says, that though it is only forty years ago since the first Missionary landed there, yet now 'the whole nation, as far as he could judge, comparing man with man, are as worthy of the name Christian as are our people of England,'—the fact might possibly be taken as evidence of the purer and more earnest zeal of modern Missionaries; but it is not difficult to see that the process through which the people of this country passed under the labours of Augustine and his followers, is the same as that which is now going on in New Zealand. 'The people,' says a recent witness, 'are nominally Christians, but retain many of the superstitions and habits of their former state. It is rare to see a house at all superior to the huts they built fifty years ago. Some of them wear the mat; many have substituted the blanket; but a considerable number dress well in the English costume. When we see them squatting in the streets, or grouping in their huts, or freely lounging together in the sun, without respect to rank or sex, we are disappointed; for they look to us more like savages than Christians. Yet nearly the whole of them can read, write, and calculate; many keep the Sabbath holy, read the Scriptures, and have family worship; and some are highly honourable and conscientious in commercial transactions. All the worst traits of heathenism have disappeared, and now the people are learning the first principles of the doctrine of Christ. When they formerly abandoned the name and profession of heathens, and adopted Christianity, all Christendom heard of it, and rejoiced over the victory; but as great a work is still to be done, in retaining successive generations on the vantage-ground, and, in the face of vast difficulties, leading them on to maturity.'\*

Turning from this to our own land, and looking at the manner in which Christianity in England bore the tests to which it has been subjected by political revolutions, growing wealth, and, above all, by religious corruption and ecclesiastical tyranny,—the foundations must have been nobly laid, and the work of the first builders must have been well done. The groundwork indeed was laid in Divine truth, and the work was done under the Holy Spirit's sanction and blessing. As yet, those distinctive dogmas which have become essential to the Latin Church of later times, had not taken a position to eclipse

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\* *Wesleyan Missionary Notices*, November, 1859.

the great leading doctrines of saving truth. The teaching of the Missionaries would, of course, fairly represent the views and feelings of their nation; and Gregory, though not entirely free from perverted notions on some points, was, in doctrinal views and ecclesiastical principles, much nearer to what is called Protestantism than to the standard of the modern Romish Church. His ear was too open to stories of the supernatural and miraculous; although perhaps he cannot be fairly judged by an age so mechanical and hard, so material and secular as ours. The question of alleged miracles in the Christian Church of post-apostolic times, is one of great difficulty. We can easily believe that such men as Gregory were too ready to credit marvellous tales, and to chronicle reports which, if properly sifted, would have turned out to be mere exaggerations of some remarkable coincidences; or, that some striking and impressive manifestations of Divine Providence on behalf of the infant Church, or its missionary work, might, in the course of circulating talk, become distinguished by terms which, understood figuratively at first, have at length helped to place them before posterity in the character of miracles. The recently-published volumes on *Fiji and the Fijians* may furnish an illustration. There are statements as to the salvation of persecuted converts from imminent peril by the sudden and unlooked-for destruction of their persecutors, which, if brought to the next generation of Fijians by oral tradition, might easily be mistaken for miraculous vindications of Christian truth. At the same time, from the testimony of such men as Bede, and from the memorials of many of the early Missionaries themselves, it is clear that both Gregory and those whom he employed were ruled by the conviction, that the Divine Government could not be upheld over human minds without occasional interference by miracle; and that such interference might be expected at the first introduction of the Gospel among heathen people. And, after all, it is more easy to believe that a merciful God would arrest the attention of unbelievers, and force the truth of the Gospel on their notice, by such interferences, than to admit that men of pure sincerity and holy purpose could be victims of self-deception, and the means of deceiving those whom they so earnestly wished to save. That such men intended to deceive is beyond the faith of any pretender to calm thought or good feeling. It may be easily conceived that the extraordinary facts connected with modern revivals would, under some circumstances, be reported as miracles. The outer man, for instance, is prostrated in a manner which many have found unaccountable; but from that prostration the entire man has risen with evidence of a moral change which none can deny, and



which most admire. But may not God permit truth to be so discovered as to overwhelm for a time the powers of human nature? not to show that such affections of our physical nature are necessary to a religious change, but to call the attention of a sceptical world to the fact that there is a Divine Spirit without whom men cannot be rectified and hallowed, and, at the same time, to awaken the Church to the true meaning of its creed, when it says, 'I believe in the Holy Ghost.' As society becomes cool and hard under the sway of mere intellect, spiritual religion will be treated with neglect, if not with scorn. Its claims will be politely overlooked, or its advocates borne with as the subjects of a defective training; but when multitudes suddenly take a religious turn under the pressure of convictions wrought without any visible agency, men are obliged, in spite of themselves, to acknowledge a Divine power, and to pay homage to the grace of God. Who cares for what a few people say about their inward experience? but who can be thoughtless when his neighbours are struck down as by an unseen arm? Who but must be serious when he sees them rise up to act on new principles, from new motives, and with an aim and purpose altogether different from that of their former life?

But to return to Gregory. It would appear that with all the credulity with which some have charged him, he was more cautious than many of his contemporaries; and that he was prepared judiciously and scripturally to guard his clergy against extremes. Who does not like to read, again and again, his calm, beautiful, and affectionate letter to Augustine, written when he was rejoicing in the unexpected and marvellous changes which were taking place in the scene of his mission? 'I know, most loving brother,' says the Pope, 'that Almighty God, by means of your affection, shows great miracles in the nation which He has chosen. Wherefore it is necessary that you rejoice with fear, and tremble whilst you rejoice, on account of the same heavenly gift: namely, that you may rejoice because the souls of the English are by outward miracles drawn to inward grace; but that you fear, lest, amidst the wonders that are wrought, the weak mind may be puffed up in its own presumption, and, as it is eternally raised to honour, it may thence inwardly fall by vain glory. For we must call to mind, that when the disciples returned with joy after preaching, and said to their heavenly Master, "Lord, in Thy name, even the devils are subject to us," they were presently told, "Do not rejoice on this account, but rather rejoice for that your names are written in heaven." For they placed their thoughts on private and temporal joys, when they rejoiced in miracles; but they are recalled from the private

to the public, and from the temporal to the eternal joy, when it is said to them, "Rejoice that your names are written in heaven." For all the elect do not work miracles, and yet the names of all are written in heaven. For those who are disciples of the truth ought not to rejoice, save for that good thing which all enjoy as well as they, and in which they have no faith of private enjoyment.' The writer of this epistle did not, on some points, keep so near to our standard of orthodoxy as we should think necessary; but on most subjects his way of thinking was strongly akin to our own. He was, perhaps, the last of the Popes with whose spirit it would seem possible for us to fraternize. His unquestioning faith in the significance of dreams and visions disposed him to entertain the question of a purgatory,—evidently against his better judgment, when influenced by the light of inspired truth. He was willing to admit the use of pictures as teachers of scriptural facts, but not as objects of adoration; while he attached some value to relics, though he never idolized them. At the same time, there was no one immaculate, in his estimation, but 'the Son of Man.' He set up no claim to supremacy as a bishop; nor was he above concession to the opinions and practices of those who differed from him, when the glory of his Master and the success of truth called for it. He believed the Church to be composed of those who were 'anointed and sanctified by the Spirit of Christ.' He enforced no confession but the confession of a penitent sinner to his God; preached no sacrifice but that which the Lord Jesus offered 'once for all;' and proclaimed no salvation, but salvation by 'faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. Indeed, his 'Rock' was not Peter, but Christ; for, 'By rock,' says he, 'is meant Christ; the foundation signifieth Christ.' Christ's word, with him, was the only standard of faith and practice: 'No doctrine may be thought necessary to be believed,' he remarks, 'but that which is grounded upon Scripture; and whosoever will avouch any Divine truth, must build his speech upon this foundation.' Hence, he exhorts the laity to study the Scriptures, that 'they may learn the will of God, because,' he continues, 'Holy Scripture is the epistle of God unto His creatures. It is a flowing river in which the lamb may wade, or the elephant swim.'\*

A Mission begun under the influence of so much truth, could not be without gracious fruit. There were some things in Augustine's mode of opening his message which to us may appear beneath the dignity of those who bear the commission of the Gospel; as when he and his companions approached the

\* The passages which express his opinions on all these points have been culled and arranged by Morton in his *Catholic Appeal*, 1609.

place where King Ethelbert of Kent had appointed an interview, in a kind of procession, with a silver cross and a picture of Christ borne before them, chanting a litany as they moved, and in alternate choirs singing their prayers for the conversion of the heathen. Their chant and litany, and even indeed their cross, will be borne with, perhaps, better than their picture; but if such things seem childish to us, some generation of the future, wiser and more spiritual than ourselves, may probably read with wonder the record of our strife about the colour of a preacher's vestment, and may find it difficult to detect the earnest piety of those who substituted the religious novel for the word of God, replenished their Church coffers with the profits of popular concerts, and regulated the orthodox pitch of their devotion by a musical key. Truth, however, always accomplishes something, though associated with human infirmity, and even when partially mixed with error. Sincere efforts to Christianize men never entirely fail. And when the results of one evangelizing movement seem to be dying out, it is only to open the way for something better. As geological deposits have followed each other through the course of former ages to compose this remarkably-constructed island,—thus preparing and adapting it as the scene of civilization, and a great centre of moral power,—so, dispensation after dispensation of truth comes to its people, each in succession more pure and rich, until England shall become a mature example of unblameable godliness and unmixed charity. Nor should any religious age glory over a former day, as if all its advantages were owing to itself. That which now is, owes a great deal to that which went before it. And, indeed, the relations of ages and generations, and their dependence on one another, in the economy of Providence, must be held to be sacred. As 'the eye cannot say to the hand, I have no need of thee; nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of you;' so, an age of more intellectual piety should not despise the one which, though less enlightened, had its distinctive power. Nor should the generation whose advantages are more complete, think meanly of the days when the ground-work of those advantages was laid.

Reflections have sometimes been cast on the memory of Augustine, the leader of the first English Missionaries, on account of his mode of treating the remnant of the British or Welsh Church. He had been made bishop; and, among other instructions from Gregory, he had been directed to take the superintendence not only over all the bishops in Saxon England, but over those who might remain among the Britons of the

West. 'To you, my brother,' says the official letter, 'shall, by the authority of our God and Lord Jesus Christ, be subject not only those bishops you shall ordain, and those that shall be ordained by the Bishop of York, but also all the priests in Britain; to the end that from the mouth and life of your holiness they may learn the rule of believing rightly, and living holily; and so fulfilling their office in faith and good conduct, they may, when it shall please the Lord, attain the heavenly kingdom.' Gregory never invaded the just rights of others; and must have found a reason for this arrangement, partly in the degenerate character of the British remnant, as described by Gildas, and partly in the fact, that the British Church had been in communion with the Churches on the Continent, and with them had acknowledged the superiority of Rome, and had shared in its pastoral care and oversight. Augustine sought an interview with the British clergy on the banks of the Severn. All he asked was, their fellowship with himself, a reasonable conformity to the usages of the continental Church, and their aid in his missionary work. They refused. There was a second meeting. He reviewed all the points of difference between them, and he reduced his proposals to three; namely, that they should consent to show their friendliness by keeping the festival of Easter at the same time with the Saxon Churches, that they should observe the same form of baptism, and especially that they should join him in his missionary efforts to convert the Saxon tribes. They were still sullen; and Augustine, kindling at their obstinacy, broke up the conference by saying, 'Know, then, that if you will not assist me in pointing out to the idolaters the way of life, they by the just judgment of God will prove to you the ministers of death.' The Missionary may possibly have grown warm under his disappointment; but he felt that his reasonable propositions had been blindly scorned. The secret of the whole turned out to be, that Augustine had unwittingly violated their notions of etiquette. A pilgrim whom they had consulted had taught them to reject him if he proved otherwise than lowly; and the testing sign of the requisite meekness was to be his rising at their approach. Unfortunately Augustine kept his seat. Perhaps, he felt his dignity; he had enough goodness, however, we think, to sacrifice a point of ecclesiastical fashion, had he known that the whole affair, important as it was, had been secretly made to hinge on this trifle. The truth and the salvation of souls were made subservient to a petty feeling of race, or the pride of a clan; and the fact reminds us that not far from the scene of this unsuccessful negotiation a Saxon judge has, within our own times, found a Welsh jury

determined not to give a verdict against a Welsh criminal. Such unworthy feelings of nationality should have the frown of the intelligent world.

We can scarcely wonder at Augustine's final warning. It was natural enough, and seemed all but prophetic. The Missionary cannot be fairly charged with the crime of exciting a Saxon chief to shed the blood of the obstinate monks, who were afterwards slain so fearfully by Edelfrid, the pagan king of Northumbria; for Augustine had passed to another world eight years at least before that massacre at the battle of Chester. His successor in the Kentish Mission was discouraged, for a time, by the fluctuations of the court; while another of the first missionary band, Mellitus, who had opened the Mission in the capital of Essex, was so disheartened by the continued rudeness and violence of a half-instructed prince, that he retired for a time to Gaul with his companion Justus. The difficulties which beset the early movements of these first evangelists have found but scanty record: those, however, who are happy enough to study these records in connexion with modern missionary literature will scarcely wonder at the allusions to occasional depression and even temporary abandonment of the field. The struggles between the prejudices and the better judgment, between the passions and the consciences, of heathen princes and chiefs, together with the consequent doubt and uncertainty on the part of their people,—are strikingly similar in all ages of missionary enterprise. And, indeed, many of the foreign scenes which are unfolded in the missionary chronicles of our own times, appear strangely to match those which had been acted among our own ancestors, when this island was a mission station. The perplexities for instance which surrounded Mellitus, when subject to the capricious tempers of his departed patron's pagan sons, may be better understood in the light which the history of some of the South Sea or African Missions sheds upon them. When Mellitus fled from his station into Kent, to consult his fellow-labourers,—and, as Bede tells us, it was unanimously agreed that it was better for them all to leave the ground than to continue without fruit among the half-awakened and still wilful barbarians,—the principle of action was the same as in a case reported by a Missionary Society in 1827. 'We had expressed a hope,' it is said, 'that the New Zealand Mission, notwithstanding the many counteracting causes which opposed themselves to its establishment, would ultimately exhibit the triumphs of Christianity and civilization. These pleasing anticipations, it is our painful duty to record, have not been realized. Commotions among the tribes and the conduct of contending chiefs have, for

the present at least, driven the Missionaries from the station, and obliged them to withdraw from the island.\*

Nor will a student of our materials for a history of early Missions fail to see that those who first brought the Gospel to the Anglo-Saxon tribes in England had to brave precisely the same spirit as recently manifested itself in opposition to the Gospel on the Slave Coast; and that the King of Dahomy merely spoke out again what had often been so expressed or made evident before, when he met the advances of the Missionary by saying, 'I know that there is one true and living God, and that He forbids killing, selling, and the worship of Fetish; but as I have been trained up in these things, I cannot leave them off. I know that if my people be allowed to hear the word of God, they will be changed and become cowards, and they will not serve the Fetish with me, neither will they go to war. If I allow all the children of my people to attend the Christian school, they will be entirely converted to that religion; therefore I cannot do so.'† Such heathenism, however, cannot long hold the Gospel in check. It will not do so in Africa; it has not in Australasia; it did not in pagan Saxondom. Laurentius lived to see the truth victorious in Kent, and Mellitus and Justus returned to witness the firm establishment of Christianity on the field of their labour and conflict. Paulinus, another of Augustine's companions, was the first to break missionary ground in Northumbria, under the protection of the royal bride, whom he accompanied from Kent. Some of Augustine's disciples had gone into East Anglia on the invitation of its monarch Redwald, and had baptized him into the Christian faith. His brother Sigebert, however, was a more sincere and earnest Christian; and when he came into power, after being for some time an exile in Gaul, he opened his kingdom to Felix, a Burgundian bishop, who entered on his mission under the sanction of Honorius of Canterbury; and, after the example of the mother station, established a school in connexion with the Church. About the same time, (634,) Birinus, under the direction of the Pope, found his way to the southern coast, and opened the tidings of salvation to the fierce tribes of Wessex. Aided by the presence of the Northumbrian prince, who had come to seek the hand of a West Saxon princess, he succeeded in gaining the King, and with him many of his subjects, as the first fruits of his ministry and the nucleus of a Christian Church. The zeal of northern Christian princes opened the way for others into Mercia; while Sussex, after resisting, for a long time, every

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\* See *Wesleyan Missionary Report*, 1827.

† *Ibid.*, 1860.



other appeal, yielded to the address and zeal of the travelled and accomplished Wilfrid of Ripon. Like many others who have been called to positions of wide influence, or to the accomplishment of some great work in the Christian Church, this remarkable person gave tokens of his native power in early life; and by a concurrence of circumstances was made to pass through a great variety of experiences at the beginning of his course. This providential training prepared him for holding a fixed purpose through and amidst all changes, and for making all events and all times serve him in the pursuit of his object. While yet a youth, he could carry arms, or gracefully serve the mead cup in the banquet hall, or wait agreeably on the person of his queen. At the same time he was not unprepared for the crosses and self-denials of a religious life. In his fourteenth year he was marked out as best qualified for waiting on an aged courtier who had resolved to find a pious retreat at Lindisfarne. Alcuin's description of that island would show that during his stay there outward things helped to teach him how to 'endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ.'

*'Est locus oceano dictus cognomine Farne,  
Insula fontis inops, frugis et arboris experts.'*

It is interesting to trace the influence of Wilfrid's scriptural studies in the formation of his missionary character. God's word was his text-book; and, like many of his contemporaries, he enjoyed companionship with the Psalter and the Gospels, until they seemed to become a part of himself. He entered the priesthood at Ripon, and became at length the Archbishop of York. His seat, however, was an uneasy one. His consistency was too rigid for the times. Nor was it long before he knew what it was to be 'in journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by his own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren.' His strong attachment to the ecclesiastical polity of Rome brought on him a series of persecutions; driven before which, he fled into the yet barbarous kingdom of Sussex, where he secured the friendship of the chief, who gave him the island of Selsey with 250 slaves. These were his first converts. He gave them their liberty on the day of their baptism. Within the space of five years, he saw Christian worship firmly established in Sussex. His attachment to Rome was certainly too strong to suit our notions; but we cannot be blind to the fact, that the Anglo-Saxons owed to him the final establishment of Christianity throughout the island. It was he who drew the

contending kingdoms within the circle of his powerful influence, and joined them into one Church ; thus to a great extent bringing about that universal peace and unity which Bede celebrates at the conclusion of his history. 'The Picts,' says he, 'at this time have a treaty of peace with the nation of the Angles, and rejoice in being united with the universal Church. The Scots that inhabit Britain, satisfied with their own territories, meditate no plots or conspiracies against the nations of the Angles. The Britons, though they, for the most part, through domestic hatred, are adverse to the nation of the Angles, and wrongfully, and from wicked custom, oppose the appointed Easter of the whole Catholic Church,—yet, from both the Divine and human power firmly withstanding them, they can in no way prevail as they desire; for though in part they are their own masters, yet partly they are also brought under subjection to the English.' Such, indeed, was 'the peaceable and calm disposition of the times,' that both among the higher and lower classes military pursuits were yielding their popularity in favour of a religious life. 'What will be the end thereof,' he remarks, 'the next age will show. This is for the present the state of all Britain; in the year since the coming of the Angles into Britain about 285, but in the 731st year of the incarnation of our Lord; in whose reign may the earth ever rejoice; may Britain exult in the profession of His faith; and may many islands be glad, and confess to the memory of His holiness!'

The conversion of the Anglo-Saxons from Paganism to Christianity was thus completed in the course of one century. The work was begun by Gregory the Great; and was carried on by his Missionaries and their disciples, aided in some districts by Scottish or rather Irish Missionaries from the island of Iona. These co-workers came from the monastery which, it is said, was founded by the celebrated Columba, a monk from the abbey of Bangor, on the coast of Ulster. It is interesting to observe, in passing, that the Blessed Spirit under whose ministrations all that is vital in Christianity is begotten and cherished, continues to distinguish the venerable scene which once gave birth to so many examples of true heavenliness and zeal. Not that the style of piety which Bangor cultivated was as active and practical as we think the will of Christ and the welfare of mankind require; for there was too much of the mystic in some of Ireland's best saints. And it may be devoutly hoped, that the modern awakening of Ulster may issue in more stirring zeal and larger missionary action than did the earlier spiritual movements of that province. If the monastic establishment of Iona was founded by Columba, it must have been soon after

the year 560, when he was on his way to Gaul, with his twelve companions, in search of the deepest possible seclusion from the world. His disciples on the Holy Island were stirred up to some effort by the spirited movement of the Missionaries from Rome; but it does not appear that there was much in the example of Columba himself to awaken true missionary zeal. The life which he led in Gaul was, as Mr. Wright remarks, 'entirely agreeable with the contemplative and anchoretic character of the Irish and British Churches; it was innocent, perhaps, but it cannot be said that it was equally useful.' Bede's reflection on the British Christians, as to their lack of action, charity, and missionary zeal, was not unmerited. Iona remains a remarkable monument of their over contemplative character. It seems as if it had been marked rather as a place for the dead, a receptacle for noble and saintly dust, than as a centre of active spiritual life sending out blessing to the world. It is now a scene of resort, where the curious and the devout wander over the accumulated dust of kings and chiefs, mitred abbots and nameless monks; a place of graves, from which hundreds of monumental inscriptions have been collected, and scattered, and lost, and where the carved and inscribed memorials are unnumbered still. With all this, the traditional recollections of the saintly recluses seem almost entirely to have faded from the minds of the people; while the legends of daring chiefs and princely warriors remain just as fresh as ever. We may accept Scott's beautiful mode of accounting for the fact. While 'the life of the chieftain was a mountain torrent thundering over rock and precipice, which, less deep and profound in itself, leaves on the minds of the terrified spectators those deep impressions of awe and wonder which are most readily handed down to posterity; the quiet, slow, and uniform life of those recluse beings glided on, it may be, like a dark and silent stream, fed from unknown resources, and vanishing from the eye, without leaving any marked trace of its course.'

The Irish agents from Iona seem to have been brought into the English field by princely influence. Oswald and Eanfrid of Northumbria had been obliged to hide themselves from the jealousy of their reigning kinsman Edwin; and had spent the time of their exile in receiving lessons on Christianity from the monks of the sacred island. On Oswald's restoration to power, he acknowledged his obligation to the Christian religion, and sent to his old hiding-place for Missionaries to instruct his people. 'Corman was sent,' says the learned Lingard, 'a monk of severe and unbending temper; who, dis-

gusted with the ignorance and barbarism of the Saxons, speedily returned in despair to his monastery. While he described to the monks the difficulties and dangers of the mission, "Brother," exclaimed a voice, "the fault is yours. You exacted from the barbarians more than their weakness could bear. You should first have stooped to their ignorance, and then have raised their minds to the sublime maxims of the Gospel." This sensible rebuke turned every eye upon the speaker, a private monk of the name of Aidan: he was selected to be the apostle of Northumbria; and the issue of his labours justified the wisdom of the choice.\* Paulinus had opened the way, setting up his cross in the vale of Dewsbury, and fixing his centre of operations at York. But a bloody invasion of the kingdom, after the death of Edwin, had scattered the first fruits of his labours. What was begun by him, however, was carried on and established by Aidan and his colleagues.

It has been objected to these first Missionaries, both Latin and Irish, that they began with courts and princes, rather than with the people. The history of modern Missions, however, will show that this by no means reflects dishonour on their Christian character or missionary zeal. There is a striking similarity, in this respect, between their work and that of the most devoted and heroic men who, in later times, have evangelized savage and idolatrous tribes. The purest zeal has harmonized with wisdom in prompting an appeal to the chief, in order to more advantageous attempts on the clan. And, among the cases which illustrate the correctness and happy results of this plan, there is one which always strikes us as an interesting parallel to one of the most beautiful incidents in the history of the first Mission to this island. About forty years ago, an English Missionary\* stood in one of the wild valleys of Africa, where a quiet Christian village with its church and school now stands as a memorial of successful labours; and, surrounded by the pagan chief and his councillors, he opened to them the news of salvation by Christ; and inquired whether they would receive his message, and submit to the teaching of the Gospel. After consultation it was said in reply, 'We never before heard these things about the soul. We have had doubts and fears. Uneasy feelings and sorrow have come. But we did not know where to find rest. Before you spoke, we were like people in an egg-shell. It was dark. We could see nothing. We could understand nothing. There was the sky. There were the mountains. There were lilies. But we did not know who made them. Nor could we tell where we came from,

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\* Barnabas Shaw.

or where we were going. Stay and teach us, and we will hearken.'

About 1233 years ago, a lone Missionary stood on the banks of the Derwent in East Yorkshire, not far from the little town of Wighton, or 'the Town of the Altar,' and waited the result of a deliberation on the part of Edwin, a pagan Anglo-Saxon chief and his court. The question then was, 'Shall this new religion be received?' A priest said, 'O King, consider what this is which is now preached to us; for I verily declare to you, that, as to my own experience, the religion which we have hitherto professed has no power nor utility in it.....It remains, therefore, if upon examination you find those new doctrines which are now preached unto us better and more efficacious, for us immediately to receive them without any delay.' And then, an old Thane said: 'The present life of man upon earth, O King, seems to me, in comparison of that time which is unknown to us, like to the swift flight of a sparrow through the room wherein you sit at supper in winter, with your commanders and ministers, a good fire having been lit in the midst, and the room made warm thereby, whilst storms of rain and snow rage abroad: the sparrow, I say, flying in at one door, and immediately out at another, whilst he is within, is safe from the wintry storm; but after a short space of fair weather, soon passed over, he immediately vanishes out of your sight into the dark winter from which he had emerged. So, this life of man appears for a short space; but of what went before, or what is to follow, we are utterly ignorant. If therefore this new doctrine contains something more certain, it seems justly to deserve to be followed.' The question was settled as it was in the other case in the African valley; and the blessings of the same Gospel are now inherited alike by the children of the Yorkshire converts, and the Christian offspring of the old Namaquas.

But nothing more fully proves the reality of the work accomplished in this island by the first Missionaries of the cross, than the rapid growth of that native agency which sprang up under their care. To compare the Christian Saxons with the Pagan, is to be constrained to acknowledge that the fruit of missionary toil was 'life from the dead.' Their principles and manners had been much like those of other heathens; but their character soon showed the transforming power of Christ's doctrines and precepts. It is most instructive to watch the development of their Christian life. No one can study Saxon Christendom in its infancy, without being compelled to acknowledge and esteem the deep sincerity, earnestness, and genuine spirit of sacrifice,

which distinguished the converts in every rank of life. But it is their missionary spirit which appears most remarkable. Every one seemed ready to give out the blessedness which had enriched himself; and the passing out of truth from the new-born Saxon Church in England forms the theme of a beautiful chapter in ecclesiastical history. The history of no modern Missions records names whose memory will be more honourable and lasting than some of those who are associated with young Christian Saxondom. Nor has the Divine government ever shown itself more gracious than in the guidance of those 'feet' which, during the seventh and eighth century, were hailed as 'beautiful' in various parts of Europe. Yes, that Providence which in later times turned Dr. Coke aside from his eastern destination, and threw him, by a contrary wind, on the island of Antigua, there to open that conflict with error and vice which fully awakened Christendom to the claims of Christian Missions,—that same Providence directed the paths of Wilfrid, of whom we have already spoken, and in the year 667 turned him aside from his course towards Rome, and, by a westerly wind, guided him to the Pagans of Friesland, to whom he was the first messenger of the Gospel, and among whom he prepared the way for Wilbrord, his distinguished disciple.

Wilbrord was the child of pious parents. His father Widgils, in later life, inhabited a small cell on the point of the promontory which forms the northern shore of the mouth of the Humber; and left the savour of his piety among the people of that neighbourhood. His son was trained at Ripon. He spent thirteen years among the Saxon students in Ireland; and then, in his thirty-third year, with eleven companions, sailed for Friesland, and entered the Rhine in 690. His arrival was happily timed. His steps were ordered by counsels deeper than his own. The internal strife which had for some time rendered the country unsafe even for messengers of peace, was now hushed, and the quieted tribes were in a condition to hear the voice of truth. Pepin d'Heristal, whose power was then uppermost, felt the charm of the Missionary's character and countenanced his plans. Wilbrord fixed his station at a ruined town called Wiltaburg, the modern Utrecht. He and his colleagues, however, moved hither and thither among the heathen Frieslanders. His zeal carried him on a lone mission to the Danes, who were still more barbarous than their southern neighbours. Nor did the notorious ferocity of their chief prevent him from reaping some fruit of his labour. Thirty Danish children accompanied him back to his station to be instructed in the Christian faith. In the course of his homeward journey, which was partly by sea, he



landed and opened his Divine commission on the celebrated Fositesland, sacred to Fosite, one of the Frisian gods. The island, it may be, was the same with Heligoland, the Holy Island, famous in the days of Tacitus as the chief seat of the worship of Hertha. 'The reverence shown to this spot by the Frieslanders was so great, that they considered it a sacrilege of the worst kind, either to kill and eat the animals which fed there, or even to drink, except in silence, of the water which flowed from its fountain. Wilbrord and his companions had been driven thither by stress of weather, and they were all suffering from hunger. They were well acquainted with the character of the place at which they had arrived; yet the bishop without scruple ordered food to be sought for his companions, while he baptized three new converts in the stream. A party of Frieslanders, who had been watching their motions, (perhaps they exercised the calling of wreckers on the coast,) witnessed the slaughter of the holy animals and the desecration of the fountain with horror and astonishment, and expected to see the perpetrators visited with sudden death, or struck with madness; but when these results were not witnessed, they hastened to the King, and told him what they had seen. Radbod, in anger, ordered the Christians to be brought before him. During three days he cast lots thrice a day (the mode of judicial proceeding practised among his people); but the strangers were saved from his vengeance; for the lot of condemnation (*sors damnatorum*) did not fall on Wilbrord or his companions, with the exception of one, who was instantly sacrificed. The barbarian King was awed by this prodigy; he called Wilbrord into his presence, and reproached him bitterly with the disrespect which he had shown to his god Fosite. Wilbrord answered that the god he worshipped was a deceiver, and exhorted him to turn from his idolatry. Radbod then observed, with an air of surprise, "I see that you do not fear our threats, and that your words are like your works." 'And although,' continues Alcuin, 'he would not believe the preacher of truth, he nevertheless dismissed him with honour to the King of the Franks.' The untiring Missionary was continually pressing into 'the regions beyond,' that he might unfold the Gospel to the unconverted tribes. In the course of an evangelizing voyage along the Friesland coast he landed on an island then known as Walacrum, now Walcheren, and crushed an ancient and popular idol, after a narrow escape from the sword of its guardian.

A more remarkable action, however, was reserved for the evening of his eventful life. He was called to baptize Charles Martel's little son, afterwards known as Pepin le Bref, or more

familiarly in our own nursery literature, as 'Little King Pippin.' Missionaries have often realized the promise to the diligent man that 'he shall stand before Kings;' but few have been distinguished like Wilbrord, who took the father of a dynasty and an empire into his arms at the font. It has been said that 'his benediction over the infant was prophetic of the future glories of the father of Charlemagne.' But neither honour nor dishonour, neither renown nor infirmity, could silence the faithful old evangelist. He preached on until his strength entirely failed. He had laboured incessantly for nearly half a century; and the fruits of his Mission were promising ripeness and plenty, when he passed to his reward, in his favourite retreat at Epternach near Treves. He had completed his eighty-first year. His epitaph might have noted the dignity of his learning, his ceaseless activity, and his persuasive eloquence; his moderation and prudence; his patience, and meekness, and persevering zeal; while it might have honoured him as the founder of a school at Utrecht which helped to form the groundwork of civilization in Europe. Many of Wilbrord's companions had penetrated into eastern Friesland; and Suidbert, a leading spirit, had preached with some success to the Bructarii; until the fruits of his labours were scattered by an invasion of the old Saxons. The conversion of these was attempted by two Anglo-Saxon brothers, distinguished by the colour of their hair, as the black Hewald and the white Hewald. But they were early martyrs. 'The old Saxons possessed a form of government similar to that of the Germans in the age of Tacitus; they had no King, but each district or tribe was ruled by an independent chief, who acknowledged no superior except the temporary commander elected in time of war. These chiefs are termed in the Anglo-Saxon version of Bede, "ealdermen." The two Hewalds presented themselves before the reeve or prefect (*villicus*) of the first town to which they came, and asked to be conducted to the ealderman of the district, as, they said, they had a mission of importance to deliver him. The reeve acceded to their request, but retained them with him for some days, until an opportunity should occur of accomplishing their wish. In the mean time the people of the town observed that the two Missionaries were constantly employed in prayers and in singing psalms, and they thus learnt that they were Christians. Urged on, probably, by their priests, they rose tumultuously, and, alleging that if the strangers were allowed to visit their ealderman, they would perhaps persuade him to embrace the religion of the Christians, and desert the gods of their fathers, they seized upon the two Hewalds, put them immediately to death, and threw their

bodies into the Rhine. This event occurred on the 3rd day of October, 695. When the calderman heard what had happened, in the first outbreak of anger that a mission which was addressed to himself should have been thus stopped by his subjects, he caused all the inhabitants of the town to be put to the sword, and the town itself to be burnt to the ground. The remains of the two Anglo-Saxon martyrs were taken out of the river, and, by the express command of Pepin, deposited with great reverence in the church of Cologne. In the time of Bede, a clear spring of water was pointed out as indicating the spot where they had suffered.' We would honour their memory and do our best to embalm the names of two at least of the first martyr Missionaries from Missionary England. 'They were lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their death they were not divided.'

The story of their end always associates itself in our thoughts with some records of martyrdom within our own times. We scarcely ever think of the Hewalds without remembering the plaintive letter of that apostolical Missionary, Barnabas Shaw, wherein he bewails the cruel death of Threlfall and his African colleagues in the hostile kraal of the Bushmen. 'I am constrained,' says he, 'to believe that our brethren are no more. ....They were murdered sometime in the night, after they had lain down to sleep, or early the next morning.....The only source from which we can derive solace is, that all three were deeply pious men, and fully devoted to God. Neither of them I believe was thirty years of age. All of them therefore were in their bloom; all of them were humble, holy, active, zealous men, from whom we expected great things. All of them promised fair to become pillars in God's house, and to be extensively useful in the conversion of the heathen. But, alas! alas! our hopes are blasted! May we hasten to the sanctuary of God, as our only refuge! May we there hear Him say, "What ye know not now, ye shall know hereafter!"' \* Yes, and in that day the souls of the Hewalds, the Threlfalls, the Links, and the Williamses, will be seen 'under the altar,' in blessed companionship, having 'washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.'

To return to Pagan Germany. The hallowed scene of Christian action which it opened continued to draw forth the missionary zeal of England; and many, many, laboured and fell, leaving no memorial. Blessed men! They were not concerned about perpetuating their names; but about doing their heavenly Master's work and saving their fellow men. One

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\* *Wesleyan Missionary Report*, 1826, pp. 35, 36.

name, however, has left an impression on Northern and Western Germany; and we must not forget the man from the record of whose works, and from whose surviving example and writings, we are still supplied with missionary lessons. This was Winfrid, afterwards known more widely as Boniface Archbishop of Mentz. He first saw the light amidst the rich and placid beauties of a Devonian valley: Crediton, or Creedy Side, was his birth-place. There is the large and handsome church, with its neglected library over the southern porch, and its massive tower, the music of whose bells is so pleasant to the rambler as he comes up of an evening through the meadows by the river side. There, too, are the buildings near the church which remind us that there was once a bishop's palace under the shadow of a cathedral. Leland, who visited the spot during Henry the Eighth's time, says, 'The place wher the old cathedral church of Crediton stooede is now occupied with buildings of houses by the newe church-yard side. The olde church was dedicate to St. Gregory.' The bishopric of Devon was first established in the early part of the tenth century, after Athelstan's victories in the West; and the bishop's seat was fixed at Crediton, probably as a token of respect to the birth-place of the great German Missionary. St. Gregory's church, however, is gone from Crediton, and so is the episcopal home. But it is still the birth-place of the Apostle of Germany. That glory it cannot lose. And there is St. Winfrid's well to this day quietly telling of him for whose baptism it supplied the water. And by Winfrid's well side we could picture the venerable man far off on the scene of his missionary toil, surrounded by his expectant catechumens; nor was it difficult for our inward ear to catch the question and response, as each penitent believer advanced to the font.

'Forsachistu Diabolae?

*Resp.* Ec forsacho Diabolae.

End allum diabol gelde?

*Resp.* End ec forsacho allom diabol gelde.

End allum diable uuercum?

*Resp.* End ec forsacho allom diabolcs uuercum end uuordum, thuna erende, Uuoden end Saxnote, ende allem them unholdum the hira genotas sint.

Gelobistu in Got almehtigan, fadaer?

*Resp.* Ec gelobo in Got almehtigan, fadaer.

Forsakest thou the Devil?

*A.* I forsake the Devil.

And all worship of the Devil?

*A.* And I forsake all worship of the Devil.

And all works of the Devil?

*A.* And I forsake all works and words of the Devil, the worship of groves, Woden, and Saxnote, and all the evil spirits who are their companions.

Believest thou in God Almighty, the Father?

*A.* I believe in God Almighty, the Father.

Gelobistu in Crist, Godes suno? Believest thou in Christ, God's Son?

*Resp.* Ec gelobo in Christ, Godes suno. *A.* I believe in Christ, God's Son.

Gelobistu in halogan gast? Believest thou in the Holy Ghost?

*Resp.* Ec gelobo in halogan gast. *A.* I believe in the Holy Ghost.

The fragment of the holy man's baptismal form of abjuration and confession which has been happily preserved, not only helps us to form some notion of his spirit and manner, but, as a curious specimen of the language of those among whom he laboured, it illustrates the comparative ease with which he could open the truth to those who, though still Pagans, spoke a dialect closely allied to his own Anglo-Saxon, and between whom and himself there was all the sympathy of kindred.

Winfred's parentage was noble. He was the favourite child of his father. As early as his fourth year, he showed a bent to study and devotion, which nothing could check; and he soon fell into his chosen course, under the Abbot Wulfherd at Exeter. From that city, he removed to Nutsall, a Benedictine Abbey near Winchester, where he taught poetry, history, rhetoric, and sacred literature. There, amidst the studies and devotions of his cloister life, his experience was somewhat conformed to that of one who said, 'Woe is unto me if I preach not the Gospel.' A pressure came upon his spirit. He was called to preach. He felt himself 'thrust out.' His special call was to the Mission field, and his section of that field was the land of his forefathers. In his thirtieth year he had been ordained; and at thirty-six he was a solitary and almost unbefriended Missionary, wandering through the woods and marshes of Friesland. His first efforts were so far unsuccessful that he returned. But his object was still before him. Once more, in spite of attractive honour at home, and many fears as to the work abroad, he left England for ever, and spent forty years of missionary care and toil in the country upon which his heart was set. Western and Northern Germany formed his vast sphere of labour; and, whatever were his infirmities, or whereinsoever his policy or his mode of action seem other than suitable to our views and tastes, the great fact is before the world, that he broke up the ground, laid out the field, and put in the seed which produced the harvest of German Christianity. Nor, while we honour the memory of Huss and Jerome of Prague, while we trace the influence of such men as John of Goch, John of Wesel, with their associates, or while we rejoice over the awakening power of Luther and his companions,

are we disposed to forget that they were no more than the honoured labourers, who from time to time cleared, or dressed, or enlarged the vineyard which Winfrid at first hedged in from the wilderness, prepared and planted for the benefit of future generations.

A few of the Irish monks had found their way to some parts of the district, and gave the English Missionary some trouble and vexation by their stubborn prejudices in favour of their distinctive forms. But he was not to be discouraged. He chose a convenient position from which he could carry his operations into the vast wilds of the Hercynian forest; either among the Thuringians, or the savage Slavi. The records of his missionary movements afford a curious picture of the Heathenism of that part of Europe in the eighth century. In 744 he sent one of his native converts, who was a zealous agent for the Mission, to found a station and monastery in the wildest part of the Hessian forest. He came one day to a ford on the river Fulda, and there was a large party of the wild Slavi 'bathing in the stream. The grim appearance of the naked savages alarmed even the ass on which the Missionary was mounted, and he was compelled,' it is said, 'to shrink from the stench which issued from their bodies. Their hatred of the Christians was evinced by dismal yells, as they rushed towards him, and it was with great difficulty that he escaped without personal injury. From thence he followed the course of the river, where the forest became still more wild and solitary, until he arrived at a spot which seemed well calculated for his object.' There was laid the foundation of the celebrated Abbey of Fulda, of which the enterprising and persevering convert, Sturm, was made the first abbot. It is interesting to see the vigorous style in which Boniface applied himself to the work of overturning idolatry. He had built a station at Ohrdruf, in Thuringia, where many of the higher class joined him. The common people, however, still clung to the superstitions of their forefathers, and frequented their sacred fountains and trees. One of their favourite objects was an immense oak, the oak of Jupiter. The bold Missionary resolved on its overthrow; and, like another Elijah, challenged the multitude to witness the public evidence of their god's weakness. 'A crowd of Pagan Hessians were also assembled, to see, as they imagined, the trial of strength between their own gods and those of the Christians; for they seem not to have doubted that the deities they worshipped would interfere to protect the sacred tree, and inwardly they cursed the strangers who had thus come to invade the silence of their woods. Boniface applied the axe with his own hand; a strong wind appears to have aided his design; and,



before he had made much progress with his weapon, the immense tree fell with a fearful crash, and, in the concussion, the trunk split itself into four pieces. The Pagans were struck with fear and wonder; they acknowledged that their gods were vanquished, and, as they were accustomed to do in political invasions, so, in this spiritual contest, they quietly submitted to the conqueror. Boniface built a wooden oratory of the timber of the tree.'

Boniface has been accused of untempered zeal on behalf of Papal claims. No one can read his epistles, however, especially some of the last, without feeling that Christian love was his ruling principle and chief joy; and that the hope of meeting his beloved companions and fellow-labourers in heaven shed a cheering light on his last days.

The venerable man was at length enrolled in 'the noble army of martyrs.' He had paid a last visit to the court of Pepin; and left it old and feeble in body, but in mind and heart beautifully illustrating the promise, 'They shall bring forth fruit in old age, they shall be fat and flourishing.' The Frieslanders, who were the first objects of his charity, when in his youthful vigour he left his native land, now shared his last mortal sympathies and care. With a large number of priests and other assistants, he entered Friesland in 755, and began a successful course of preaching from place to place among the unconverted population. 'In the course of their wanderings,' says the record of his martyrdom, 'they came to the banks of the river Bordne, (the Bordau,) on the border of the modern districts of Ooster-go and Wester-go, where they encamped for the night, the following day being appointed for the baptism of a great number of converts, who were to assemble at that spot. The day fixed for this ceremony was the fifth of June. As the hour appointed drew near, a large party of pagan warriors, whose cupidity had been excited by the hope of rich plunder, made their appearance, and brandished their weapons fiercely as they approached. A few armed attendants who were with the archbishop issued from the little encampment to meet them; but Boniface, when he heard the tumult, came forth with his clergy, and called off his men. He exhorted his presbyters and deacons to resign themselves patiently to the fate which awaited them. At the same instant, the Pagans rushed upon them, and few of the Missionaries escaped from their swords. The assailants appear to have been divided into two distinct parties, perhaps the inhabitants of two different towns; and, after the slaughter of the Christians, they separated and fought for the spoils. In this encounter, a large portion of the Frieslanders were slain, and

the rest, when they entered the tents, found little else but books and relics, and other things, which in their eyes were equally worthless, and which they threw contemptuously into the river, and among the reeds and shrubs. The Christians soon afterwards attacked and defeated the Frieslanders; they recovered most of the books and relics, and, having carefully gathered together the bodies and limbs of the martyrs, they carried them to the newly-built church of Trehet. The body of Boniface was transferred thence by Archbishop Lul to Fulda, where he had frequently expressed a wish to be buried.' History will always rank Boniface as an eminent man among the remarkable men of his age. As a Missionary, he seems ever to live in the accumulative results of his labour: under his influence, as a bishop, a large part of Europe took a new intellectual character; and the institutions which he founded tell even now upon the civilization of the world. But nothing more strikingly shows the holy character of the impression which he left on the scene of his toil, than the fact that the most spiritually minded of the present inhabitants cherish his memory, and hold it sacred. His name among them is 'like ointment poured forth;' and it is an interesting fact, that, at the present time, in the kingdom of Wurtemberg, once within his missionary pastorate, a widening circle of associated Christian people seem to pay grateful homage to the land of his birth, by holding Church fellowship with one of the leading Missionary Societies of England.

The succession of devoted Missionaries was not broken, however, by the departure of Boniface. Willibald, his reputed kinsman, came after him, to keep up the cultivation of the field, and to enlarge it. This native of Hampshire was born about the year 700; was for some time nursed with difficulty, but overcame his early feebleness, from the time his father with a solemn vow consecrated him to the service of Christ. The child was trained by Abbot Egilwalt at Waltheim or Bishop's-Waltham. His learning soon inspired respect, as it grew in beautiful harmony with his virtues. Then came a passion for travel. Seven years of meditative wandering among holy places, and an equal period spent on his return in studious retirement at Monte Casino, seem to have prepared him for the arduous course which now opened to him; and now, too, he appeared to see and feel his calling. He was one of the earliest English examples of that class of evangelists who seem to catch inspiration for their work from the soil which their Master trod. Boniface invited him to the Mission field. His obedience was prompt; and he was intrusted with a district at Eistet, (Eichstadt,) for which he was ordained by his venerable

kinsman. At the close of the following year (740) he was labouring in Thuringia, where he met his brother Wunnebald, who had given himself to the same work. He was now in the prime of his life. All his energies, and learning, and experience were unreservedly consecrated to his Mission. The work of salvation was his delight. Nor was his visible success a small reward; for from his lips the truth spread through the whole country of the Bajoarii. He was consecrated bishop of Eichstadt by Boniface, and peacefully closed his career in the midst of his spiritual children. His memoirs come to us from the pen of a nun, who has unselfishly enriched the biographical department of missionary literature, without caring, it would seem, to leave us the means of paying due honour to her name or history. Willibald's character and life consistently sustained the import of his name, *bold of will*; but his boldness was on the side of truth, and his strong will was exercised in doing the will of his Divine Master. He was severe to none but himself. Those who came under his pastoral sway, found themselves cared for with tenderness and diligence. He made the afflictions of others his own; set an example of the patience which he recommended; and proved that he had Christian sympathy, by his charitable sacrifices and deeds. He lived to see the social life of his district assuming a Christian character; and departed leaving the religion of Christ triumphant over the old immorality and superstition.

A few memorials have come down to us of another agent in the conversion of Germany. Willihad, a native of Northumbria, and Alcuin's friend, was moved by the reports of missionary success; and as soon as he was ordained presbyter, he went direct to the scene of Winfrid's martyrdom, where now a Christian society had been gathered, and a missionary school was affording instruction to many children of the Frisian nobility. Many converted Pagans were the first fruits of his ministry at Dockum. Thus encouraged, he pressed his way towards the east, and carried the truth into a country which no evangelist had visited before. This was the district of Groningen. His ministry roused not only the attention but the evil passions of the idolaters, whose false religion he exposed by contrasting it with the Gospel. At a place called Humarcha,—perhaps Hunsingo,—near Groningen, the pagan crowd rose against him while he was preaching; and, but for the timely interference of the chiefs, he would have shared the fate of Boniface. He was reserved for judicial punishment, after trial by lot; but the lots were in his favour. Trianta, or Drente, was next visited; and there many converts were gathered; but the

too eager zeal of his companions, in attempts to destroy the idols, involved him in danger from which he narrowly escaped. The court of Charlemagne afforded him temporary shelter and repose. Charlemagne had just then gained the mastery over the Saxons, and Willihad entered as a Missionary on a border district called Wigmodia, not far from Bremen. His success was so great, that within three years scarcely an idolater could be found in the neighbourhood. The work so well begun, and for a time so full of promise, was, however, as in many later instances, painfully checked by civil convulsions. Wituchind, who had successfully persuaded the Saxons to revolt, and headed their movement, took the opportunity of manifesting his savage hostility to the Christians: and for several years they were subject to violent persecution. The Missionary Churches were broken up, Willihad escaped to the coast, and found his way to France, most of his companions and disciples were butchered, and idolatry was once more in command. The fugitive Missionary found a retreat for a time in Wilbrord's monastery at Epternach, where he was joined by several of his converts, who had happily escaped from Saxony. It was unfortunate for Willihad and for his cause, that the Mission to the Saxons was one of Charlemagne's pets. When the Emperor favoured a plan of conversion, it must not be thwarted. The work must be done by all means; and, in this case, his patronage of the Missionaries was such as might remind us of the man who stood by a field preacher, and returned hard stones for the mob's softer missiles; and who, when rebuked for his militant spirit, and told that the Almighty would defend His own truth, replied, 'Yes, but I thought I should like to help Him.' Those whom the Redeemer sent to convert the world were required to be 'wise as serpents, and harmless as doves.' This union of wisdom and simplicity in the subjects of Christian zeal, Charlemagne could not understand. He preferred a course which roused the prejudices of the heathen against the new religion. An entire Church system must come in with the doctrines of salvation. Ecclesiastical taxes were to be levied without delay; and, indeed, the conquered tribes were made to feel that Christianity was identified with Frankish rule; so that they naturally revolted from the yoke of a religion which seemed to fix on them the marks of bondage. 'The princes of this world' are not yet cured of their fondness for this mode of Christianizing the heathen. Our Gallic neighbours have shown themselves ready to deal in Charlemagne's style again, among the islanders of the Southern Ocean; although their efforts, as compared with his, have been associated with more error and less good-

ness, if they have not entirely lacked imperial honour. It would seem as if the zeal of governments, on the eastern side of the Channel, necessarily takes a martial form of expression. England seems to have indulged a fear of that extreme, until she has, in some instances, fallen into the other. Although, in the course of her history, she has been known to offer her religion at the point of the sword, she has outlived that fashion, and has learnt, in India at least, to act on the policy of showing her Christianity at no point at all. But, surely, there is a medium. A Christian government ought never to be so lax in religious affairs as to awaken public suspicion of its insincerity; never so stringent as to appear chargeable with intolerance. Our experience in the East has now completed the evidence, that the two extremes may be equally perilous. But, returning to Willihad. After two years of quiet devotion at Epternach, where he probably wrote his Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul, he returned to Wigmodia, and diligently set himself to gather up the fragments of his scattered Churches. His preaching and example prevailed; and he had the joy of seeing Saxony once more open to the truth, and Wituchind himself a candidate for baptism. He was now the acknowledged bishop of Wigmodia, and a church 'of wonderful beauty' at Bremen marked his episcopal seat. But his perils were scarcely over, and his more quiet pastoral work begun, before he was called to his reward. His course was finished at Blexem, near Bremen, on the 8th of November, 789.

It is an interesting fact that Saxon England, herself 'but newly found' in Christ, had her share in the work of evangelizing those Scandinavian regions, from whose pagan rovers she suffered such deep affliction. Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, all enjoyed either the direct or the indirect influence of her Missionary Churches. It was in the court of Athelstan that Haco, of Norway, received the holy principles which he carried back to his heathen kingdom, and exemplified in his own character and life, so as to secure for himself the title of 'Good,' though he died in painful humiliation at his failure to convert his people. Olof Fryggweson, who afterwards gained the Norwegian sceptre, and did so much to open the way of the Gospel among the population, made his first confession in baptism during a visit to the Scilly Islands. Often have we thought of Olof while amongst the truly Christian hospitalities of St. Mary's; nor has our experience among the good people of Scilly failed to confirm a notion, resulting from previous observation, that spots which have been happily associated with the first toils and sacrifices of mission work, are often honoured with a per-

petual freshness of the missionary spirit. Another Olof, 'Olof the Thick,' who, in the beginning of the eleventh century, delivered Norway from a foreign yoke, had seen enough of Christianity in England to decide him in its favour; and though his attachment to the Gospel was not so enlightened as to save him from harsh modes of recommending and enforcing it on those who came under his power and influence, both in Norway and Sweden; yet he was the means of bringing an English agency into his dominions, which, amidst all the disadvantages of his violent policy, diffused the gracious doctrines of salvation among the people. Indeed, the religious history of Sweden, in particular, might show that from the beginning the most hallowed impulses which she has felt may be traced to the quiet action of one or more Christian men from this island. The recent revival of vital Christianity in that country is only a broad and glorious copy of early types. England has a deep interest in the present spiritual harvest; as one of her missionary agents, who, some years ago, was driven from Stockholm in tears, was the honoured instrument of sowing much of the heavenly seed. One of our Missionary Societies sent, in 1830, an agent and English Pastor to the capital of Sweden. By and by he began to preach in the Swedish language. The services were crowded. A larger chapel was reared, by the aid of Christians of all ranks, and all orthodox denominations. The English pastor's object was not to introduce his own ecclesiastical system, but to diffuse spiritual life among the members of the Swedish Church. He laboured to convert the people to Christ. His success called forth an opposition, before which he was at last obliged to retire. But the seed was sown. An extensive correspondence had been kept up with clergy and laity; a Swedish Missionary Society was organized; infant schools were introduced; a Seaman's Mission was established; a convert was sent from the chapel in Stockholm to begin the successful Mission to the Laps; and a monthly religious periodical was issued, and put into wide circulation. The aim of the movement was pure, and its accumulative results most happy. And now that the unholy passions which once forced the agent from his post, have been hushed by the holy breath of the descending Spirit, all classes of Swedish Christians will bless his memory, and acknowledge Mr. Scott as one of 'the greatest spiritual benefactors bestowed by God in modern times upon Sweden.' In the ample records of great modern Missionary Associations, the character and deeds of a few leading agents necessarily stand out here and there with much distinctness, while great numbers of worthy and very useful men as necessarily occupy a mere line in the catalogue of missionary names. We



do not wonder, therefore, that one or two only of the pattern Missionaries of early Christian England have their character permanently sketched, and their leading actions saved from oblivion; while many, many others, perhaps equally useful in their time and place, have left bare names only floating on the surface of history, or in the breath of tradition. Such names we have in connexion with early Missions to Norway and Sweden, in Liafdag of Ripon, Thurget, the first bishop of Škara, Sigfrid of York, Grimkil, Rodulf, and Bernard. Such men and their associates were the early representatives of Missionary England; the first types of her Christian evangelists to the heathen; and the founders of that work which prepared branches of the German family on the Continent for uniting with this country in the great mission of the race. In the course of time our continental kindred repaid the benefit, by affording us the influence of their Lutheran Reformation. England again responded by extending to her brethren of Central Europe the advantage of a later revival of her own Christian zeal; and thus, mutually prompting and training each other, during a succession of probationary ages, the different branches of this great family are now beginning to apprehend their calling, and to address themselves to their most glorious task. The great mission of the race is, to evangelize the world. Already, its posts are taken; the outline of its plan is sketched; in every clime its work is begun; and the earnest of its final success are even now brightening 'the ends of the earth.'

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ART. V.—*Travels in the Regions of the Upper and Lower Amoor, and the Russian Acquisitions on the Confines of India and China. With Adventures among the Mountain Kirghis; and the Manjours, Manyargs, Tougouz, Touzemt, Goldi, and Gelyaks: the Hunting and Pastoral Tribes.* By THOMAS WITLAM ATKINSON, F.R.G.S., F.G.S., Author of 'Oriental and Western Siberia.' With a Map and Illustrations. Royal 8vo. London: Hurst and Blackett.

TAKE a map of Asia; note the sources of all the great streams which flow northward through Siberia, southward through India, eastward through China and Mandshuria, and westward to the Aral Sea: draw an imaginary line from one source to the source nearest to it, and so on until the circuit is complete; and the enclosure will comprehend three mountain plateaus, varying from 5,000 to 6,000 feet of elevation above the level of the sea,

and known to geographers and map-makers as Thibet, Chinese Tartary, and Mongolia. This central table-land of the Asiatic continent is formed by four great mountain systems, extending from east to west. These are the HINDU-COSH and HIMMALAYAH, which form the northern boundary of Cabul and India; the KUENLUN, which separate Thibet from Chinese Tartary; the KIAN-SHAN, which confine Songaria (Western Mongolia) to the south; and the ALTAI ranges, which may be considered the natural barriers between Siberia and Mongolia. The ALA-TAU and BOLOR-TAGH ranges flank this region to the west, and the IN-SHAN Mountains on the east. It is remarkable that a territory apparently so uninviting should have been from time immemorial the grand *officina gentium* from which have proceeded all the conquering races of the human family. Here, in the pre-historic period, dwelt the fathers of the Arian nations, long before their southern march upon Persia, and their subsequent spread from that centre westward over Asia Minor and Europe, and eastward into Northern India. The founders of the three great biblical empires of Assyria, Babylon, and Persia, with the Parthian Arsacides and the Persian Sassanides, were but khans of warrior hordes from these regions. The barbaric migrations which overthrew the Roman Empire commenced in Central Asia; and what have been the Seljukian and Ottoman Turks, the Mongolians of Genghis Khan and of Tamerlane, but continuations of the same movement, marked essentially of the same character? These mountain plains are in fact *the commanding military position of the Old World*, and have hitherto been the fatherland of earth's dominant races. And, although in our day fire-arms and artillery have given to civilization a preponderance over barbarism, and would thus seem to have saved us from any risk of another inundation of savage conquerors; it is obvious that any civilized power in possession of this Asiatic Switzerland, and controlling its inexhaustible supply of the rude material of war, the warrior man, which the conditions of semi-barbarous society so readily furnish, would be in a most favourable position to contend for the empire of Asia. This being the case, it is somewhat alarming that the important territory and commanding position in question appears to be quietly passing into the hands of Russia, whose Czar, untrammelled by the perplexities of parliamentary government and unshackled by public opinion, has at his command all the resources of our advanced civilization, and does not affect to conceal his belief that his mission is to resist and repress the current of Western liberalism, and to conquer for 'Holy Russia' the rich heritage of the East. That such dreams of empire will be realized is highly improbable;

but that the attempt will be made cannot be doubted except by those who, delighting to prophesy smooth things, are disposed to regard the history of the past as an old almanack, and nothing more. Our interests in India and in Asia generally are too important to be forgotten for a moment; and we are bound to be ever on the watch to divine as far as we can the nature of the stealthy aggressive movement towards our Indian frontier, which sooner or later we may be forced to counteract or repel.

The steady advance of Russia in Asia, southern and eastern, we have certainly no right either to blame or oppose, so long as our own territories are not menaced. That power and influence which in civilized Europe is only evil, may be on the whole beneficial to the uncivilized hordes of Central Asia. Like ourselves in India, Russia, having begun a career of conquest in Asia, is compelled by the necessity of her position to go on conquering. Both nations are, then, whether willingly or the contrary, annexationists. It is the game of all or nothing within the sphere of their respective operations. That Russia will gradually absorb the wandering tribes of Central Asia, and colonize or otherwise secure the most important points in their territories, is most probable. Why the influence of British India should not be felt as a power counteracting that of Russia, and attracting weaker neighbours to seek her protection, is a mystery to plain people, who see no reason why a cordon of friendly states might not be interposed between ourselves and our rival. Kabul, the Khannats of Bokhara and others in Turkestan and Tartary, might be taught to look to the Viceroy of India rather than to the 'great white Khan.' Unless our Indian statesmen condescend to conciliate their neighbours, the frontier line of Russia in the next generation will be on one side conterminous with our own in India, and on the other will extend eastward to the great wall of China and the Yellow Sea.

The volume of Mr. Atkinson, which heads this article, is a valuable contribution towards the removal of our ignorance of the interesting regions to which we have already referred. It does not affect to rival the great works of Humboldt, Tchihatcheff, and others, which will need to be consulted by those who wish to understand thoroughly the physical phenomena of Central Asia. We wish the work had less of a boudoir dress, and had dealt more freely in dates and itineraries. We cannot always distinguish what Mr. Atkinson states from his own personal observation, and what he gives us on the authority of his Russian friends. But we see no reason to doubt the general accuracy of the information itself; and its value is the greater, as it is not likely that English travellers

will again be indulged in the freedom of exploration, accompanied by official assistance, which, under peculiar circumstances, was granted to Mr. Atkinson.

We shall first introduce our reader to 'the steppes' north of the Caspian and Aral Seas, and extending eastward along the river Syr, (the ancient Jaxartes,) as far as the spurs of the Alatau and Bolortagh. These vast plains are about 2000 miles in length by 1200 in breadth, and are described as slightly undulating, covered with rough grass, except where sandy deserts, without either wood or water, alternate with the grassy plains. Salt lakes are not wanting, nor numerous tumuli,—the last resting-places of the chieftains of those barbarous races which, in ages past, have been the divinely-commissioned scourges of the effete and demoralized civilizations of Asia and Europe. Generally these solitudes are unbroken by any sound, and unenlivened by any signs of animal life. In summer sand-storms frequently prove fatal to the traveller:—

'Their approach is seen at a long distance, and when they are of moderate breadth it is not difficult to escape; but should they extend over many miles in width, there is real danger. At a distance a dense black cloud appears rolling over the desert, rising 700 or 800 feet above the ground, and sweeping on with fearful velocity. This causes the people to watch its advance with considerable anxiety, as it is impossible to say which way to turn for security. Instinct tells the animals danger is approaching, when they too become uneasy, and attempt to escape. Horses and all other animals, when free, rush off at the top of their speed. It is a most exciting scene when these storms reach the pastures; a herd of several thousand horses, with camels and oxen, are seen rushing madly on before the tempest, and the herdsmen are trying to lead them out of its course. On these occasions many fall from exhaustion, and perish as the storm rolls over them.'

In winter violent gales of wind (called *bourans*) sometimes last for several days, and gradually increase in strength until they equal the hurricanes of the torrid zone, burying the plains in snow and ice, and carrying away the tents and other dwellings of the nomad inhabitants, besides destroying their cattle and sheep by tens of thousands. Yet this land is not without its capabilities: sheltered spots are remarkable for their fertility. The eastern portion, bordering upon, and partly within, the spurs of the mountain ranges, is an alpine Switzerland, the summer pastures of the Kirghis hordes, and distinguished by mountains covered with glaciers and perpetual snow, and valleys between, which richly repay the labours of the cultivator; while mines of silver, copper, and lead, recently 'prospected' by the Russians,

and adroitly purchased by the government, prove the mineral riches of the country. Some traces of the earlier populations yet remain :—

‘The ancient inhabitants of this region rendered it extremely productive. The numerous canals which still exist show their engineering skill, and the extent of the irrigation it produced. In some of the channels the water yet runs ; and, where it overflows, the sterile soil is covered with a luxuriant carpet of vegetation, adorned with flowers of singular beauty. There is abundant proof that it has once been densely inhabited, and it is probably destined to be a great theatre when occupied by Russia. The vast number of tumuli scattered over the plain, the extensive earthworks, which have been either cities or strongholds, afford convincing evidence that a great people were once located here.

‘One of these ancient works on the Lepsou, near its outlets from the Kara-tau, is a parallelogram, about 700 yards in length and 300 in breadth. The earth walls are now about twelve feet high, and have been considerably higher ; their thickness is about sixteen feet at the bottom, and nine feet at the top. This enclosure was entered by four gates, one being in the centre of each side ; but the eastern end has been partly destroyed by the river, which is gradually cutting down the bank. Half a mile to the north and south are numerous mounds ; and at about a mile from the western end there is a large tumulus, about 150 feet in diameter, and 50 feet high. The people who produced them were a very different race to the present occupiers of the country, and had made an extraordinary advance in agriculture and mining. In one of the small mountain ridges on my route, I found a fine specimen of malachite, and came upon the remains of ancient mines, —most probably worked at a period long before those of Siberia were discovered by the Chutes, who left many of their flint instruments in the depths of the Altai.’

The present inhabitants of these vast plains are the KIRGHIS, a pastoral nomad race of the Turkish stock, divided into four distinct branches,—the little, middle, and great hordes, and the Mountain Kirghis. Their riches consist of countless multitudes of cattle, sheep, camels, and horses. The horde (a word derived from *ordu*, ‘tribe’) comprises many encampments called *aouls*, which are a collection of moveable houses, or rather tents, covered with coarse felt, manufactured from camels’ hair. Each encampment is surrounded with flocks of sheep and cattle, which are spread for miles around, the whole neighbouring country teeming with life. Some tribes have more than ‘2500 camels, 60,000 horses, 100,000 horned cattle, and sheep beyond calculation :’ one chief had more than 9000 horses. These numbers will not startle those who have come in contact with the stocks of African farmers and of Australian squatters. The

fact of a Tartar trader having purchased, in the course of his summer's circuit, 7000 cattle, 3000 horses, and 20,000 sheep, proves that the pastoral wealth of the country is all but boundless. The habits of these shepherd tribes are not inviting:—

'Cleanliness is not a Kirghis virtue; they are economical in soap, and the washing of either person or clothing apparently forms no part of their domestic duties.

'The summer costume of both men and women consists of two, sometimes of three, silk or cotton Kalats (long dressing gowns). These are made double, so that when one side is dirty, the garment is turned, and a new side appears. In time this also becomes more foul than its precursor, and then it goes, and forth comes the other: so alternate changes take place, till the garment falls off, a compound of rags and filth, when a new one goes through the same process. The summer costume of the children, up to eight years of age, is still more economical. The juveniles take a roll on the bank of a muddy pool; the scorching sun quickly bakes the coating they thus obtain, and their dress is complete. When this is worn off or looks shabby, either by sleeping in their furs or by their gambols on the grass, they add a new one of the same material. In winter, men, women, and children of all ages, wear fur coats, making it exceedingly difficult to distinguish the sexes.'

Their dwellings are equally offensive. 'It is unpleasant to enter a Kirghis abode that has been closed several hours: the strong scent of the koumis bag (koumis is a spirit made from mares' milk), mingled with various other odours from biped and quadruped, makes the intruder start back with horror, as plague and other deadly maladies are instantly suggested.' The religion professed is Mohammedan, mixed up with superstitions of great antiquity. Mental cultivation is out of the question. Domestic life is more simple and pure than we usually find among tribes in this stage of civilization, though the wife is purchased after the ancient fashion. The chiefs are proud of their genealogy, and 'each Sultan boasts of a long line of ancestors, whom his poet traces up either to Genghis Khan or Timour, and some even take a flight among the genii.' This is a weakness originating in praiseworthy instincts common to all nations. To this day a New Zealand genealogy begins with the beginning of all things—'*from the nothing the something*'—and so on, introducing name after name. The ruling chief of Tonga, the great and good King George, is supposed to be the only male representative of a race which has sprung from the gods; and his pedigree is as true as that which traces Queen Victoria through Odoacer King of the Heruli, up to Woden or Odin. These follies have a meaning and significancy so long as they are



believed; and hence Julius Cæsar, the greatest man of his age, did not fail to boast of his imaginary descent from Venus, the divine ancestress of the Julian family. Some of the Kirghis chiefs have 'a chair of state' carried before them on a camel, indicating royal dignity. Mr. Atkinson gives the following account of an interview with an old chief:—

'Two Kirghis presently met me, and led me to their chief, whom we found sitting at the door of his yourt, like a patriarch, surrounded by his family, having in front his poet singing the great deeds of his race. He rose to receive me, gave me a seat on his own carpet, and then the bard continued his song.

'This family group, the glowing sky, and the vast plain, with the thousands of animals scattered over it, formed a charming picture. Homer was never listened to with more attention than was this shepherd poet, while singing the traditions of the ancestors of his tribe. Whatever power the old Greek possessed over the minds of his audience, was equalled by that of the bard before me. When he sung of the mountain scenes around, the pastoral habits of the people, their flocks and herds, the faces of his hearers were calm, and they sat unmoved. But when he began to recite the warlike deeds of their race, their eyes flashed with delight; as he proceeded, they were worked up into a passion, and some grasped their battle-axes, and sprang to their feet in a state of frenzy. Then followed a mournful strain, telling of the death of a chief, when all excitement ceased, and every one listened with deep attention. Such was the sway this unlettered bard held over the minds of his wild comrades.

'As I sat watching the group, I saw there were many sturdy fellows sitting round their aged chief, all of whom appeared quiet and calm; but a word from him would rouse their passions, and change the scene into one of the wildest excitement. The uplifting of his battle-axe would send them on a plundering expedition, when they would spare neither age nor sex.'

Notwithstanding that Russia is surrounding the Kirghis with its samples of its own rude civilization, their pastoral habits and love of a wandering life remain unchanged, and their 'chivalrous spirit disdains the idea of manual labour in every shape, except with the flocks and herds.' Their value to Russia will arise out of their capabilities as a cavalry force; and, as the Mountain Kirghis alone can muster 40,000 mounted warriors, we may agree with our author, who, in speaking of the proficiency of these tribes in the use of the lance and battle-axe, remarks: 'If these men are ever trained under good officers, they will become some of the best irregular cavalry in the world, unequalled for long and rapid marches: they possess all the qualities that made the reputation of the wild hordes led on by Genghis Khan.' It is a remarkable fact, which speaks volumes

as to the *tact* of the agents of the Russian government, that the descendants of the Kalmuck tribes, who in A.D. 1771 emigrated from the banks of the Wolga, and placed themselves under the Chinese Emperor, have recently been reconciled to their ancient master, and now prefer to be subjects of 'the great white Khan,' the Czar.

Not less interesting to us than the cavalry capabilities of these warlike nomads, is the internal trade of Central Asia, which is of far greater extent than we have been accustomed to suppose possible, in the absence of navigable rivers, canal, or railway communications. Here we err in reasoning from European analogies. Land carriage in densely peopled countries, where the land is all occupied, and there are no reserves abounding in free pasture for cattle,—and where civilization has given a money value to *time*, and has raised the value of labour, as well as the cost of subsistence,—is a serious drawback to traffic, from its necessary costliness. But in the wilds of Asia and Africa it is otherwise: the time and labour of a semi-barbarous race are seldom taken into calculation; beasts of burden are plentiful and cheap, subsistence for them abundant, and journeys of months' duration are regarded as exciting excursions, which, with all their hardships and occasional privations, are a pleasing relief to the general monotony of uncivilized life, and far more agreeable than employment which requires moderate but regular industry. We have known Kaffirs carry hides of no trifling weight two days' journey further, in order to secure the additional five buttons or beads given by the one trader more than by the other; while the value of the hide itself might have been acquired by a few days' regular labour at a Mission Station. The emporiums of this caravan trade in Russia are Orenburg, Troitska, Petrapavolovsk, and Semipalatinsk. Orenburg is on the Oural or Yaik, not far from the southern termination of the Uralian Mountains. Troitska and Petrapavolovsk are in a direct line between the Uralian Mountains and Omsk, on the Irtysh; while Semipalatinsk is higher up the Irtysh in latitude 50° 3', on the very frontier between Siberia and the eastern Kirghis steppe. This latter town consists principally of wooden buildings, placed in a long line about 150 yards from the river, with a view on the steppe which stretches out to the south-west more than a thousand miles. Many Tatar merchants reside here, and engage in trade with the Chinese towns of Tchonbachak and Kulja, also with Bokhara, Kokhan, and Tashkend, between which and Semipalatinsk caravans are frequently passing. They take out printed Russian goods, copper, iron, and hardware, returning with tea, silks, and dried fruits, which are forwarded to the fair at Irbit,

and are then dispersed, the greater portion being sent into Siberia, the rest to Europe.' These Tatar merchants are civilized enough to pass forged Russian notes on unwary travellers. Others trade with the Kirghis, supplying them with manufactured goods, for which they receive in exchange skins, horses, oxen, and sheep: the horses and oxen are consumed at the gold mines in Eastern Siberia, one trader importing 50,000 oxen annually. The sheep, numbering about one million annually, are taken to Ekatarineburg, where they are melted down for tallow, which is then converted into stearine, at an establishment which supplies all Siberia, and part of Russia, with candles. Formerly, within five years, this tallow was sent to Europe,—another instance to prove how largely the countries which have hitherto been the great producers of raw material for export, are beginning to consume their own produce; the wealth produced by commerce enabling them to afford to be good customers to themselves, and to enjoy their share of those conveniences which they sell to foreigners.

Two routes lead to Khiva (Turkestan) from Orenburg; the one between the Aral and the Caspian, the other along the eastern shore of the Aral, the journey being performed usually in twenty-five to thirty days. To Bokhara, (Turkestan,) distance 1200 miles, in about sixty days. From Troitska to Bokhara, is a journey of about sixty to sixty-five days; from Petropavlovsk, the distance is a little farther; another route from this latter place leads to Tashkend. The routes which start from Semipalatinsk are very important: to Tashkend (Turkestan) in fifty to fifty-five days, to Kokhan (Turkestan) in seventy days;—the distance and time to Kashgar and Yarkand (Chinese Tartary) are not given. There are also routes to the Chinese towns of Tchoumbachak and Kulja,—to the former in fourteen, and to the latter in sixty days. The towns of Kopal and Vernoje have been founded by the Russians very recently in the Kirghis territory, close to the Chinese frontier; and their rise has been most rapid. Kopal has already 11,000 inhabitants, and the other town is advancing with a similar rapidity. A series of forts along the line of frontier, and on points connecting the leading routes, protect the Russian traders, and control the Kirghis:—

'This is a large and strong fort, more than 400 miles from the Aral Sea; it gives Russia the complete command of the Syr-Daria and the regions around. Her steamers can pass up the river beyond this fortress to within twenty miles of the town of Turkestan, and to within thirty miles of Tashkend, and boats can ascend the river Tchubar-sou nearly to the town. Vessels of a small draught of water

will be able to reach Khodjend, and even near to Kokhan. Thus steam has placed these states under the control of Russia, and her will must be their law.'

'By a reference to my map, the position of the forts on the southern frontier and on the Syr-Daria will be seen. It think it will be obvious to every one that they are so placed as not only to command the whole of the Kirghis hordes, but to exercise a great influence over the countries to the south. It may, indeed, be said, that they virtually command the region as far as the thirty-ninth parallel of north latitude, and we may ere long expect to see Cossack picquets near Kashgar.'

We may remark, that no special difficulties render these routes impassable to an army with all its necessary artillery and baggage; and therefore the sooner we dismiss the notion that an overland march to India is impossible, the better. That it would be hazardous, and productive of great loss of life, is admitted; but military men are now pretty well agreed that it is feasible.

The very interesting question of our participation in this internal trade is not neglected by our author. At present our manufactured articles have suffered some little discredit, owing to 'sharp practice' on the part of sundry trading agents, natives of India:—

"In 1849 a considerable quantity of English calicoes reached Yarkand, Kokhan, and Tashkend. They were printed in the two latter towns in patterns to suit the taste of the people: from their superior quality and price, the Tatar merchants were induced to purchase the goods, and carry them in their trading expeditions among the nomades of Central Asia. They also found a ready sale, and the people were delighted with their new garments. Several of these kalats were shown to me, and their superior quality commented on by their owners. All were anxious to possess them: thus the articles had at once established a character and a trade.

'The following year, when the merchants visited Kokhan and Tashkend, they obtained similar goods, and these were still more appreciated by the Kirghis. In 1851 the Tatar traders bought their goods as usual, which in appearance resembled those of the former years. These were taken by the caravans into distant regions, and they also met with a ready sale. But, alas, the purchaser soon discovered that he had been victimized; the material proved to be complete trash, and the discovery caused a great reaction.'

Fairs are recommended as the best mode of opening a trade with Central Asia:—

'These should be at one or more points near to the passes in the Himalaya, or, perhaps, one great fair as far up the Indus as possible, would be the best. This I deem preferable to the English plan of

consigning goods to agents either in Yarkhand, Kokhan, or Tashkend. Once these fairs are established, the Tatar and other merchants will attend and purchase the necessary articles for the people among whom they vend their wares; and this would soon be felt in Nijne Novgorod, as the distance from the Indus is but little more than half of that from Semipalatinsk to Novgorod.

'If agents for English houses were located in any of those towns, it would create jealousy; the Tatar merchant would fear that an attempt might be made to push the trade into Central Asia, and deprive him of his legitimate profit. Besides, these men are thoroughly acquainted with the tribes, and know all their wants; they are industrious and energetic in their calling, travelling over thousands of miles with their caravans. They know every part of the country, and where to find the tribes at all seasons of the year: it is by them that Russia distributes her merchandise over Central Asia.'

The manufactures of Manchester and Birmingham, together with tea, sugar, rice, and tobacco, would meet with a ready sale; and the practicability of establishing fairs, and of creating a considerable trade, cannot be doubted.

'The distance from the Indus to Vernoje and Kopal is about one third of that from these places to the great fair on the Volga. This is of no small importance commercially, as these towns will become the centres whence the Tatar merchants will send forth their agents to disperse their goods among all the Kirghis of the steppes. From these points they will also go to the Mongolian tribes on the north of the Gobi, and this region contains a vast population. I have no doubt, should this trade be established, that the merchandise will find its way through the country of the Kalkas into Daouria, and to the regions beyond the Selenga and the sources of the Amoor, where it may advantageously compete with goods brought up the latter river. Nor will the Siberians fail to avail themselves of its advantages. Whenever there shall be fairs on the Indus, the Kirghis will send into India vast numbers of good horses annually; silver and gold is plentiful in their country, and their other resources will be rapidly developed.'

We agree with our author that—

'English merchandise will sooner or later find its way into the northern provinces of China, through the Tatar merchants engaged in trade among the Kirghis hordes. I shall, however, point out another and more direct route by which commerce may be carried into these regions, if a fair were established on the Indus. During my wanderings I became acquainted with several merchants who had frequently visited Yarkand, Kashgar, and Cashmere. Between these places caravans often pass, so that various wares are constantly being transported through this country without any extraordinary difficulty. It may, I think, be taken for granted, that wherever trade can be carried on with profit, all natural obstacles have been surmounted. It is a

well known fact that the caravans that travel from Kulja into some of the interior provinces of China, encounter greater dangers than will be met with between Yarkand, Kashgar, and the Indus.

YARKAND, in Chinese Tartary, is a large town, containing 14,000 houses and 95,000 to 100,000 inhabitants, with a Chinese garrison of 5000 men. Chinese, Tatar, Persian, and Cashmere merchants reside here. The bazaars are three-and-a-half miles in length; vegetables and fruit are abundant. From this centre of trade caravan routes proceed in a north-easterly direction to Mongolia, from which branch routes turn off to the tea provinces and other parts of China Proper. Yarkand is only 300 miles from Cashmere (as a bird flies). Our wisdom would be to lose no time in pushing our trade, and forcing our connexions, in these districts of Turkestan and Chinese Tartary, while they retain their independence of Russia. If our agents manage their affairs with anything like average tact and good feeling, we see no reason why the influence of our Indian Empire may not be brought to bear upon these regions for good. Let their populations and rulers once know that we have no desire to pass our natural boundaries as conquerors, and they will court our alliance, and favour our trade. The sovereign of 200 millions of people in India is surely in a position, if well served, to more than checkmate the ruler of only half that number of subjects, and those so much farther distant from Central Asia. We are apt to forget that in India we are nearer to these desirable localities than the Russians are. Liberty of ingress and egress to our traders and merchants and travellers ought to be a prominent article in all our treaties with China and the minor Asiatic powers.

The main trade between Russia and China is carried on in a great emporium situated to the south of Lake Baikal, and a few miles below Selenguisk. KIACHTA is the Russian, and MAI-MACHIN the Chinese, town, or rather factory. These are situated within a few hundred yards of each other, on the boundary line of the two great empires, and on a plain which is said to be 2500 feet above the level of the sea, and which is seldom troubled with snow in the winter. No one resides in Kiachta, except the merchants, officers of the customs, and Cossack guards: free intercourse is permitted between the two factories from sunrise to sunset. All the tea consumed in Russia is purchased here, amounting to near six millions of Russian pounds in weight. Rhubarb and silk are next in importance. The transit of so much Russian and Chinese merchandise through Siberia affords employment to a large number of horses and men; and the best season for this conveyance is the winter, when



the rivers are frozen, and the roads are macadamized by the snow.

IRKOUTSK, the capital of Oriental Siberia, is situated at a very convenient distance from the frontier, on the Angora River, which flows into Lake Baikal. The Russian troops quartered here have not far to march in order to enter Chinese territory. The population is 20,000; many of the merchants are wealthy; the markets are well supplied; game and fish, and all the necessaries of life, are abundant and cheap. European articles and foreign produce are very dear, owing to the cost of land carriage. We cannot wonder that Russia should desire the possession of a river like the Amoor, and should avail itself of the first favourable opportunity of taking possession of it. When the navigation of this river is improved, and a railway or tram-road connects it with Lake Baikal, then Eastern Siberia will assume an important position on the map of the world.

The opportunity of seizing the Amoor River territory was too tempting to be resisted:—

‘The Governor-General of Oriental Siberia determined to explore the Amoor, and in 1854 a great expedition was organized by him for that object. It was on such a scale that the Chinese could neither check his progress, nor prevent him taking possession of the north bank of the river. In less than six weeks the whole of this vast region, including the country between the Amoor and the Russian frontier to the north of the Yablonoi, had changed masters; it had now fallen into strong hands, and before the end of the year the entire Chinese army could not have dislodged the small body of Cossacks placed in position. General Mouravioff had seized on all the points which his keen eye and practical experience told him were necessary for the security of the new acquisition.

‘Russia has now got possession of the great water-course, and the only one through which access from the sea to the vast plains and mountain districts of Central Asia can be obtained; the Lena, the Yenissey, and the Ob being sealed in the Arctic Ocean. This is a great water-way, extending more than 2,200 miles into the eastern portion of the empire, with its outlet into the Pacific. It will also open up a water communication into the vast region bordering on the Sea of Japan, and up to the great deserts of Gobia. It is the commencement of a new era for Siberia: foreign produce will flow in by this channel, and Siberian products will pass through it to the ocean, and thence to other nations. Many of the resources of the country that have long lain dormant will now be called into active operation, and an industrious and intelligent population will spring up where ignorance and indolence have long held sway.’

These results are already apparent at Petropavlovski, a settlement some distance east from Lake Baikal, and near the

dividing range that separates the streams flowing into it from the great rivers Argoun, Kerulun, and Shilka, which, uniting in about longitude 121° E., form the Amoor. This place has become of considerable importance from its iron works and machine manufactory. Here engines for the first steamer on the Amoor were made, and guns have been cast and bored. The country on both sides of the Amoor appears to be rich in mines of lead, iron, zinc, silver, and gold, and is equally well adapted for grazing and cultivation. The semi-barbarous tribes appear to have been conciliated, and even those south of the river, within the Chinese boundary, are beginning to compare the one rule with the other, and to draw conclusions greatly to the advantage of Russia. The Soungari affluent, which flows through the most densely peopled portion of this part of the Chinese Empire, has already been explored, as the first step towards occupation by the Russian government. Numerous towns skirt the banks of this river, and there is a large nomad population engaged in the breeding of cattle:—

‘Russian policy and commerce have already opened the Soungaria. The Manjourians have learned the value of silver roubles; these and scarlet cloth they willingly take in exchange for their sables, and the Russian steamers will, if needed, pass up the river in spite of any fleet of war-boats sent to oppose them. It is fortunate, however, that the valley of the Amoor has been added to the empire without a single contest with the people. The Cossack posts have been quietly placed at the different points, and Russian settlements are being established without opposition. Ten years hence the aspect of this region will be materially changed, flourishing towns will be seen on the banks of the Amoor, the vessels moored on the shore will show that the people are actively engaged in commerce and other industrial pursuits, while the white churches with their numerous turrets and green domes will prove that religion and civilization have taken the place of idolatry and superstition. A country like this, where agriculture and cattle-breeding can be carried to an unlimited extent by an industrious population, where all the necessities of life can be easily produced, must prosper; and if a just and wise governor continues to rule in Oriental Siberia, this country is destined to have a great future.’

There are two drawbacks to the great value of the Amoor river: the first, a *bar* at the most northerly bend at *Maloï Nadejda* in longitude E. 126°, formed of a large mass of sand-stone, upon which there is only three feet of water in the summer. In the spring it has ten feet for a short period while the snow is melting on the mountains, thus often causing a temporary swell in the river. The second is the severity of the climate, which closes the navigation of the river seven months in the year. Nicholaïofsk, at the mouth of the Amoor, is a strong

fortification; but the port of the territory will be Castries Harbour, about one hundred miles to the south, which is only closed three months in the year. The opposite island of Saghalian, which Russia claims as belonging to the newly acquired territory, contains valuable beds of coal and splendid harbours, which are little affected by the severity of the winter.

The onward march of Russia in Asia imposes on us a careful consideration of our own position and future prospects on that continent. We should not forget that we are a power in Asia as well as Russia; that our subjects are fifty times more numerous than those of the Czar; and that there is no comparison as to the relative wealth and productiveness of our respective possessions. We have also interests in Persia, Burmah, and China, which we cannot neglect, without forfeiting the prestige of our high character,—the very mainstay of our Indian Empire. To the natives and tribes of Asia we cannot afford to appear as inferior in any respect to Russia. On the contrary, we ought to claim and take the first place; and it is our policy to avail ourselves of our position as rulers over India, to exert that influence which naturally belongs to so distinguished an Empire in Asia. In a few years all the Asiatic powers will look either to us or to Russia as their natural protectors, and we ought to be preparing for every possible contingency. We take it for granted that our government of India will henceforth be marked by wisdom and firmness in the support of our legitimate authority, by respect for the rights of the natives, and by a gradual extension and increase of their privileges as they become fitted by education to use them aright; and that at the same time judicious public works and local improvements will be carried out, so as to develop the inexhaustible resources of the land, and increase the comfort of its population. Thus cutting off all just occasion for discontent with our rule, our comparatively easy task will be merely to guard against invasion by a foreign enemy, or, in other words, by Russia, which is the only power capable of such an enterprise. Though we believe it possible for a hostile army to reach India overland by sundry routes under certain favourable conditions, yet our advantages for defence are so great as to render the success of the invaders all but impossible. When the railway systems of India are completed, this will be our most important military defence. When once our armies and their artillery can be conveyed by rail from the coast to our extreme northern frontier, a Russian invasion will not be attempted, until Russian railways run from Moscow to the Hindu-Cosh; and by that time we may hope that the altered circumstances of most Asiatic nations may render all anxiety on this score

unnecessary. Our Indian government ought to cultivate friendly relationship with the Khans of Turkestan; and in our treaties with them and with China, we should stipulate for full liberty of trade, and for the residence of salaried English agents, traders, and missionaries, in every part of Turkestan and of the Chinese Empire. The study of the languages of Central Asia, which Russia has wisely patronized, cannot safely be neglected by us. A few thousands spent in the compilation of grammars, dictionaries, and other elementary works, and in the training of interpreters, might save millions in future years. At all events, it is not creditable to us or wise to remain ignorant of the speech and literature (such as it is) of our Asiatic neighbours. It is time that our genuine Christian civilization should confront the miserable counterfeit which Russian traders convey to Bokhara, Samarcand, Kokhan, Kashgar, and Yarkand, and the semi-civilized hordes by which these cities are surrounded. Whatever difficulties may lie in the way, if we honestly endeavour to make our rule in India a blessing to our subjects and to all Asia, as far as we can, we may hope that we shall be permitted to hold our high position, until India, regenerated by Christianity and its attendant civilization, no longer needs our paternal care. As a nation we have been privileged to be the founders of the most prosperous and happy communities in the West; and it may be an honour reserved for us as humble instruments in the hands of an all-wise Providence, to regenerate and civilize the Eastern world.

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ART. VI.—1. *The Diaries and Correspondence of the Right Honourable George Rose*. Edited by the REV. LEVESON VERNON HARCOURT. Two Vols. London: Richard Bentley. 1860.

2. *A History of England during the Reign of George the Third*. By W. MASSEY, M.P. London: J. W. Parker and Son. 1860.

3. *Biographies*. By LORD MACAULAY. Edinburgh: A. and C. Black. 1860.

THE grand and sublime in nature is most frequently the result of some violent convulsion, affecting a large tract of country. Every feature of the scenery is bold and picturesque; hill is massed against hill, and peak rises on peak; there is ridge and ravine, sheer precipice and winding pass; and in firm outline every object strikes vividly upon the eye. These are spots where the physical

grandeur of a whole kingdom seems concentrated in a single district, and all the rest is a tame, flat, uninteresting plain. In like manner the picturesque periods of our history are generally the creation of political convulsion; around them are grouped the great names of our national biography; and the eye turns to them with a sense of relief after traversing the dreary record of uneventful although more prosperous times. Two of these periods stand out with especial prominence,—the reigns of Elizabeth and of George the Third; both high-couraged and strong-willed, both holding lofty views of the prerogative of the sovereign, both thoroughly attached to the Protestant religion, and both wearing the crown through twice the duration of an average reign. The genius of Shakspeare would alone suffice to give unfading splendour to the annals of Elizabeth's reign; but the age that produced Shakspeare and Bacon too, may well be termed the Augustan age. To these must still be added Raleigh, Frobisher, and Drake; Sir Philip Sidney, the English Bayard; Burleigh, the judicious counsellor; Edmund Spenser, Richard Hooker,—names which are household words all England through. But the stirring *events* of that reign are rather records than remembrances: the ceaseless contests with Spain, then in all the magnificence and pride of her power; our expeditions to the Netherlands and the West Indies; our interference in the civil wars of France; the daring exploits of our seamen; the launching of the Invincible Armada against our shores, with the sickening anxiety which for months afterwards held the great heart of England in suspense, and the rebound which followed,—these things are almost forgotten. There is indeed a dim tradition respecting Tilbury Fort; but the reign of Elizabeth is now-a-days associated in the popular mind with the introduction of tobacco, potatoes, silk stockings, and Tudor architecture.

With the events of the Georgian era we are more thoroughly familiar:—the revolt of the North-American colonies, and the long and exhausting war which followed; the rapid extension and consolidation, under Warren Hastings, of our Indian Empire; the rebellion in Ireland; and above all, the French Revolution, which, in its protracted course, turned France into a vast shambles, and made every plain in Europe slippery with blood. The victories of Jervis, Duncan, Howe, Collingwood, and Nelson, pass before us in uninterrupted series. We see Abercrombie in Egypt breaking the spell of French success, and restoring the tone of the army, lowered by the disasters of Burgoyne and Clinton on the American continent, and those of the Duke of York in the Netherlands. At the head of literature, supreme, and a trifle despotic, was Johnson; Lord Mansfield

was on the Bench, Dunning at the Bar, Reynolds at the easel, Garrick on the stage. We can hardly crowd in the names of Porson and Gibbon, of Goldsmith and Burns, of Wilson and Gainsborough. The age was still richer in orators. Lord Chatham, brilliant and daring almost beyond belief,—the very embodiment of Saxon power; Lord North, with his courage, adroitness, pleasant wit, and irresistible *bonhommie*; Windham, with his refined, almost subtle, humour, and classic taste; Sheridan, who, in spite of his unreadiness, was said to have made the most brilliant speech, as well as to have written the best play, of his time; Burke, long the coadjutor and afterwards the conscientious opponent of Sheridan, in whose capacious mind were laid up unknown stores of learning, and whose oratory, strangely freighted, was resistless as the sweep of a river in flood; and Fox, easy, genial, generous, enthusiastic, an optimist, both by constitution and habit; careless in his style, but accurate in his thoughts, and acute in his reasoning; not fluent, and yet the greatest natural orator who ever rivetted the attention of the Senate.

One yet is wanting, for so many years first of the foremost men of the age, WILLIAM PITT. The second son of Pitt, Earl of Chatham, he inherited a name which was the boast of his country and the terror of his enemies; and it was his singular good fortune to fill a short life with so much glory, that it is difficult for us of a later day to say whether England has more reason to be proud of the father or the son. He was born on the 28th of May, 1759, and from the first was the favourite child of both his parents. Owing to delicate health, he was educated at home until his fifteenth year, when he was sent to Cambridge, and there distinguished himself not less by his classical attainments than by his proficiency in the highest branches of mathematics. Nominally he was preparing for the Bar, but his father had designed him for a political life, which was the one thing especially in accordance with his own taste. He possessed naturally an extraordinary aptitude for extempore speaking; and studying, as he did, under his father's care, the best models of oratory, ancient and modern, he soon acquired all those nameless graces which alternately win or command attention, and that matchless fluency and perfect diction which to the end of his career made him a wonder to his hearers. On coming of age he left college, was called to the Bar, and travelled the Western Circuit. Early in the following year, (January 23rd, 1781,) he entered Parliament for the borough of Appleby, through the influence of Sir James Lowther, who, by virtue of his estates in Cumberland and Westmoreland,



was able to return seven or eight members for nearly as many pocket boroughs.

It is necessary here to glance briefly at the state of public affairs, though it is difficult for us to realize the facts. Parliamentary government was then something very different from that to which we are accustomed. The King considered his headship of the State to be far more than nominal. No measure, no circumstance, escaped his attention. He examined jealously every act of every public man, no matter whether he was a supporter of the Government, or of the Opposition; and found means of showing his approbation or displeasure accordingly. With abilities above the average, he applied himself diligently to the affairs of his kingdom, keeping pace with the progress of events both at home and abroad, and acquainting himself with the current business of all the public offices. But the most loyal of his subjects complained of his systematic interference with the executive. He made and unmade Ministers, almost irrespective of Parliament; and to such an extent, that during the first ten years of his reign there were no less than seven successive Administrations. And, after all, they were Ministers only in name. The King for a series of years was his own Premier, his own State Secretary, his own Commander-in-Chief. He not only revised all the greater appointments, but all commissions in the army and navy, all nominations to the Church and household; indeed some of the places which he filled up with his own nominees were so paltry, that the very knowledge of them would scarcely be expected on the part of a great monarch. Strong prejudices, and a firmness which his opponents called obstinacy, were prominent features of his character, and much increased the difficulties of his Ministers in troublous times. Three subjects especially excited his utmost aversion, and he would never even attempt to argue them,—Independence of the Colonies, Catholic Emancipation, and Parliamentary Reform; the three hinges on which turned the most important events of his reign.

There is no need to trace the progress of the quarrel which broke out between Great Britain and her noblest dependency; suffice it to say, that a Cabinet error commenced it, and a succession of errors inflamed it, until in 1775 America passed from protest to open revolt, and in the following year declared her Independence. The forces sent to extinguish the rebellion were everywhere unsuccessful. The army under General Burgoyne capitulated in 1777. In 1778, France revenged herself upon us for many previous defeats by acknowledging the independence of the States, and entered into close relations with them. In

1779 Spain, and in the following year Holland, joined the alliance. We maintained our old success at sea, and the allied fleets were almost annihilated; but our land operations were a succession of disasters, and the capitulation of a second army under Lord Cornwallis, in 1781, brought matters to a crisis. All attempts to recover the Colonies were judged to be hopeless, save by the King. He was still for war and the integrity of the Empire. Lord North in vain sought release from office. The King, by alternate command and entreaty, induced him to remain. Let us look for a moment at the scene within St. Stephen's. The enormous Government majorities which, until now, had never wavered, dwindled away. From one hundred or more they fell to forty-one, to twenty-two, to nineteen, to ten, and still the King resisted. Such a majority, especially in those days, was equivalent to a defeat; but in the face of it the budget was brought forward for the ensuing year, and everything proceeded as usual. The excitement in town and country became intense; and the scene in the House, night after night, is said to have been without a parallel. Every artifice was used by the Opposition to sustain themselves, and intimidate their adversaries. Among other devices, division-lists were sent throughout the country, with the names of the Government supporters in red letters, while the popular side was printed as usual in black,—a trick that to us may well seem contemptible; but, when division-lists were little known, and with the public in such an excited state, the *ruse* sufficiently served its purpose. The 20th of March was fixed for a final attack, and every one knew that the fate of the Ministry would then be decided. Both sides brought up the last reserves; faces long absent from the House were here and there recognised by old acquaintance; invalids crept out of their sick rooms, and made the journey to town in close carriages, conveniently arranging to be within call for the expected division. Before five o'clock not less than four hundred members had taken their places, and waited impatiently the entrance of the First Minister. At length Lord North, in full dress as usual, and wearing his blue riband, made his way up the House amid incessant cries of 'Order' and 'Places.' Presently he rose and attempted to address the Chair; but Lord Surrey rose at the same moment, and was supported by all the strength of the Opposition. The clamour on both sides was deafening, and it was only on the Minister's declaration that he had a most important communication to make, and as the effect rather of his gestures than his words, that he obtained a hearing. To the amazement of both parties in the House, who believed that Ministers had turned the

corner, and would now have increasing majorities, he briefly stated that the Government had resigned, and proposed an immediate adjournment in order to allow time for the new ministerial arrangements.\*

Pitt had now been a year in Parliament, and, although he had only spoken some half-dozen times, the judgment, readiness, argumentative power, and finished style of his speeches, had made him already a man of mark. The Marquis of Rockingham at once offered him a place in the new Government, which might have been considered flattering to so young a man; but he declined it for this reason, among others, that it was not a *Cabinet* place! In a few months Lord Rockingham died, and the Ministry fell to pieces. It was reconstructed by Lord Shelburne, who made Pitt, not yet twenty-four, his Chancellor of the Exchequer; while, owing to incompatibility of temper, rather than of views, Fox, Sheridan, and Burke left the ranks, and went into Opposition. The great object of the Ministry was to conclude an honourable peace, both with America and France, in which they were successful, though stoutly opposed not only by Lord North, whose policy was in this respect consistent, but by Mr. Fox, who, when last in Opposition, had been most clamorous for peace. The state of parties was at this time very singular. The Ministry was not strong at the best, and was further shaken by internal dissensions. The Opposition was gathering numerical strength, but consisted of two parties, not only distinct, but so discordant with each other, that one of them would have been far more naturally allied with the Government. Pitt was therefore selected to make overtures to Fox, which he did in a single, straightforward question, viz.,—‘Whether there were any terms on which he (Fox) would join the Government?’ The answer was equally prompt, ‘None, while Lord Shelburne remains,’—and so the matter ended. During the discussion on the terms of the peace, it became more and more evident that a good understanding existed between the two chiefs of Opposition. The peace, as was privately admitted on all hands, was fitly made, and on terms so favourable that they could hardly have been improved by a successful campaign. It was a source of pride to Lord Shelburne that his diplomacy had been so successful; and having consciously done his duty to his country, it was only

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\* Lord North’s pleasantry never deserted him under any circumstances. When the House thus suddenly broke up, the waiting-rooms were crowded with gentlemen who had no means of getting home, as their carriages were not ordered till midnight. Lord North’s carriage presently drove up, and, as he prepared to get into it, he turned round and said, ‘Good night, gentlemen; you see what it is to be in the secret.’

natural to expect that the country would do its duty to him. But the Coalition arrangements had rapidly matured, and it was determined to overthrow the Ministry, regardless of consistency, or even common decency. Lord North supported an Amendment to the Address, speaking immediately after the mover and seconder; Fox spoke later, and still more boldly, openly avowing the intimate relations of the two parties. At seven o'clock in the morning the House divided, in much excitement, after a fifteen hours' debate, when Ministers were defeated by a majority of fifteen. Notwithstanding the royal objections to such a step, the Cabinet resigned. Pitt was now offered the Treasury with *carte blanche*, but after two days' consideration he declined the responsibility. The Cabinet was tried all round without success. To Fox the King had an extraordinary antipathy, and he rarely went so far as to mention his name. Lord North had given unpardonable offence by forming political relations with him; and it was only when every other expedient failed that the King sent for Lord North, and endeavoured to negotiate with him alone, to the exclusion of his new friends. This attempt succeeded no better than the rest. The King was now, as he openly stated, at the mercy of the Whigs, and was compelled to submit to whatever arrangements they chose to make. The new Government was announced, with Fox and Lord North as Secretaries of State, under the Duke of Portland as Premier, after the country had been for six weeks absolutely without a Government, to the consternation of all classes. The King's antipathy to the new Ministers was shown in every possible way; for he expressed himself freely both in conversation and in his correspondence, and repeatedly slighted them in the presence of the whole Court. Some of the expressions in his correspondence are so violent, that one cannot but think that the mind of the King was already in a state of unhealthy excitement. Such displays of feeling were most undignified, and moreover were unnecessary. It was not difficult to see that the Ministry had no solid standing-ground. Its elements were all discordant; there was no community of principles, and there could be none of policy. The very existence of the Coalition was an outrage upon public opinion, so violent had been the previous antagonism of the two Secretaries of State. Lord North had undertaken the American war, and then had maintained it, against the wishes of the nation. Argument and entreaty were alike lost upon him; and, whatever might be his private sentiments, his policy had been to rule with the high hand, and never to yield. Fox had urged a peace in 1778, peace in 1781, peace at any price, and on any terms. He had

urged this on every imaginable ground, and with the greatest possible vehemence. At one time he had threatened the Minister with impeachment, when impeachment was no trifling matter; at another he had taunted him with the failure of all his plans, and then insulted him by offering to negotiate a peace for him, since his reputation was so utterly lost, that it would be impossible to negotiate one for himself. After exhausting upon him every species of opprobrium and contempt, Mr. Fox joined this very statesman in turning out a ministry that had concluded peace on better terms than he himself had dared to hope for. The first Pitt coalescing with Carteret, or Disraeli with the elder Peel, could not have more violently outraged the national sense of right. The Coalition was the target for many a keen shaft, some of them cruelly barbed. Pitt's remark during the early stages of the movement was not soon forgotten. 'If,' said he, 'this ill-omened and unnatural marriage be not yet consummated, I know of a just and lawful impediment; and, in the name of the public weal, I forbid the banns.' Martin heaped curses upon it as 'the grave of all principle.' Wilberforce charged 'corruption' upon one of its authors, and 'violence' upon the other. 'The voice,' said Powis, 'is Jacob's voice,' (meaning Fox,) 'but the hands are the hands of Esau.' Even if the new Ministers had possessed the confidence of the King, they did not, from the outset, enjoy that of the country; but having a large majority in the House of Commons, they thought that they could safely dispense with both.

Their first step was taken in defiance of both. Within a week of the re-assembling of Parliament, Mr. Fox brought in his famous India Bill, having for its object the abolition of the East India Company as a governing body, and transferring the administration to a Board of Commissioners, nominated by Parliament, or, in other words, by the Cabinet, for a term of years, and *wholly independent of the Crown*. Whatever might be the mismanagement of Indian affairs, a change so violent as this was most impolitic, especially where Asiatics were concerned; and the attempt to carry it out would probably have resulted in the loss of our supremacy altogether. It was unjust; for there was an actual confiscation of property, as well as of the chartered rights of the Company. And it was unconstitutional; for it created a second Ministry, wielding the resources of a large empire, and so far irresponsible that it might exert its power, both at home and abroad, in direct opposition to the views of both King and Parliament. We must make some deduction for the amazing ferment in the public mind; but the belief was general at the time, that if the Bill became law, it would render Mr. Fox's

power supreme in the State. Powis called it 'the modern Babel, whose top defiantly reached to heaven.' The struggle was sharp while it lasted. On the part of the Government, the most extravagant charges were brought against the East India Company, who were held to have forfeited everything by maladministration. Lee, the Attorney-General, with his usual coarseness, ridiculed the continuance of their exclusive privileges, and asked, 'What was their charter but a skin of parchment, at the end of which dangled a seal of wax?' To which Dundas retorted, 'What was the great harm of hanging an Attorney-General? A hanged Attorney-General was only a carcase dangling at the end of a rope!' Public opinion was with the Opposition; nevertheless the Opposition was weak. The Bill passed the Commons by large majorities, and was presented at the bar of the Lords. It was immediately read a first time, with the intention of pressing it through, as fast as the forms of the House would permit. But the public voice grew loud and angry. Thousands who felt no interest in India, and thousands more who cared nothing for party-strifes at home, yet saw that the most powerful corporation in the kingdom was about to fall, swept away at one stroke, and without notice. The idea took wing that no corporate body was safe, that rights, and privileges, and possessions, though secured by imperial charter, would be no longer valuable if this Bill passed into law. The press teemed with pamphlets, addresses, and the like. The very rapidity with which the measure was pressed, increased the alarm; and the King, rightly judging the temper of the people, and himself nothing loth, resolved on an unusual step in order to get rid of a measure that struck with no doubtful aim at his own prerogative. Lord Temple was empowered to state formally in the House of Peers, 'that whoever voted for the India Bill was not only not the King's friend, but would be considered by him as an enemy.'

This interference was immediately resented by the Lower House, which in a state of great excitement passed a resolution to the effect that the reporting any opinion of his Majesty upon any Bill, with a view to influence the votes of members, was a high crime and misdemeanour. The attitude of the House became almost menacing; but George the Third was the last man in all his realm to submit to intimidation, especially on the part of a Whig Ministry and a Whig Parliament. The open declaration of Lord Temple had been decisive. Many of the Peers in a fright withdrew their proxies from the Ministry. Nay, the President of the Council, Lord Stormont, who had personally supported the Bill on the first reading, voted, forty-eight hours afterwards, on the other side. The measure was defeated on the



second reading by ninety-five votes against seventy-six. Lord North and Mr. Fox were at once ordered to surrender their seals of office, and to do so through the Under Secretaries, on the ground that 'a personal interview would be disagreeable to the King.' \*

The formation of a new Ministry was intrusted to Pitt, but the work was one of great difficulty. The Coalition embraced within its ranks so large a proportion of the talent of the House, that it seemed almost impossible to fill up the great offices with efficient men. When the arrangements were completed, Pitt stood at the head of the Cabinet as First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. He was the fifth Premier the House had seen in twenty-one months; and so overwhelming was the Opposition, so weak the ministry, that this, like its predecessors, was looked upon as 'a mince-pie Administration,' whereas it was the most powerful and lasting which perhaps this country has ever seen. Pitt's position was a trying one. It was the middle of the session; the supplies were not voted; the Mutiny Bill was not passed; there was a large and influential majority against him; and the exasperation caused by the recent struggle was certain to break into violence, with or without provocation. On the other hand he had a majority in the Lords, and enjoyed the known favour of the Sovereign; and he had what under the circumstances was even more valuable support than either, the public voice. His short career had been watched closely, even keenly; but there was nothing found in it to detract from his worthiness. His political views had not been extreme, and he had shown himself comparatively unbiassed, and open to conviction. He was known to possess the most faultless probity. Under Lord Shelburne he had held what is undoubtedly the most trying post in any Cabinet; and had displayed a readiness of resource and a breadth of view characteristic of a true statesman. In the Indian debates his views had precisely coincided with those of the public,—no small item in the total of his popularity. His very youth was in his favour, although Fox intended no compliment in speaking of him as 'the young man who now holds the reins of government.' Doubtless the consciousness of all this braced Pitt for the coming struggle.

\* The Home Secretary received the royal commands with characteristic *sang-froid*. It was midnight, and Lord North was in bed. 'Being informed that Sir E. Nepean, the Under Secretary, desired to see him, he replied that Sir E. Nepean must see Lady North too; and he positively refused to rise. Sir Evan was accordingly admitted to the bedroom; and on informing Lord North that he came by His Majesty's command to demand the seals of his office, Lord North gave him the key of the closet where they were kept, and turned round to sleep.'—Locker MSS. *Massey*, iii., 209.

The first act of the House was to carry a hostile address; and the only result of a temperate reply from the throne was the passing of another and more stringent protest. Every obstruction which the forms of the House permitted, was employed to prevent Ministers from bringing forward any business measures. Division followed division, with majorities against the Government varying from forty to one hundred and twenty. The House formed itself into a committee on the state of the nation, confirmed its previous resolutions, and denounced the continuance of the present Ministers in power, as contrary to constitutional principles. It must be remembered that this powerful Opposition, which in point of numbers could carry all before it, was headed by such men as Fox, Burke, Sheridan, Lord North, Lord John Cavendish, and others of veteran reputation, and perfect masters in debate; while Pitt had not yet completed his twenty-sixth year, was under the disadvantage of only a short Parliamentary experience, and, in regard to debating talent, stood almost alone in the Ministry. It would have been no disgrace if after a stubborn fight he had surrendered to superior force; but Pitt determined not only to make a firm stand, but to conquer the enemy on his own ground. Between obstinacy and good generalship he steadily weakened the opposing ranks, until, after a contest of nearly three months' duration, and countless fluctuations, the majority against him was reduced to *one*. The tide then fairly turned; and, having passed the supplies and other necessary measures, he dissolved Parliament and appealed to the country.\*

The result of the elections was exceedingly favourable, and on the first division gave the Minister a majority of one hundred and sixty-eight. He now resolved on a thorough reform of the national finances. There was no public statement of the receipt and expenditure of public money. The confusion was so great that, incredible as it may appear, nothing definite was known of the revenue by the officers of the Exchequer themselves.† It was known, however, that the expenditure was annually in excess of the income, and that the floating debt amounted to no less than thirteen millions sterling. This immense sum, which was a perpetual incubus upon the money market, consisted chiefly of navy bills, which had been allowed to accumulate from

\* Probably no other man would have delayed this step so long. But the proceeding was characteristic. Four years later, during a hot debate, he was attacked somewhat abusively by the Opposition, who moved for the production of certain papers, supposed to have been unfairly kept back. Resenting the treatment he had received, Pitt withstood the demand; but, after defeating the motion, he himself moved for the production of the papers!

† Statement of Mr., afterwards Sir George, Rose.

year to year in the most reckless manner. The practice of smuggling had increased to such an extent that the loss to the revenue from this source was two millions annually, or one seventh of the national income. Of tea alone six and a half million pounds were annually run ashore,—more than half the entire consumption. The 'declared' importation of French brandy was six hundred thousand gallons, while the quantity smuggled was estimated at four millions of gallons. Commerce generally was much depressed, and the money-lenders were perhaps the most thriving part of the community. Fraud existed in every department of the State; and the best that could be said for it was that nobody thought it worth his while to conceal it. The number of small place-holders had increased enormously, and there was a laxity of principle even among the highest class of public servants, that was probably the cause, rather than the consequence, of the general confusion. Lord North drew little short of £1,300 a year for stationery, and £340 for—whipcord! A Government return, made in 1783, showed that balances were nominally due from accountants and paymasters to the extent of forty-four millions sterling. The poor relations and clients of a powerful Minister were regularly quartered on the public offices, and received certain stipulated sums deducted from the salary of the post as regularly as quarter-day came round. For instance, under Lord Rockingham's first administration in 1765, Wilkes was quartered on the Admiralty Board, receiving £1,040 a year from the various place-holders, according to a graduated scale or per-centage. Lord Weymouth was quartered upon Rigby, the Paymaster of the Forces; and in like manner almost every lucrative office was saddled with claimants. We find that one Minister, being unable to provide for a daughter out of his scanty personal estate, made ample provision for her by giving her a life interest in sixteen different offices.

Pitt at once took vigorous measures. The large floating debt was funded, a loan being negotiated in order to effect the operation. But instead of making the loan a convenient piece of patronage, distributing it among his friends, into whose pockets the premium would be quietly gathered, he offered it to public competition, and adhered to the plan during the whole of his administration, so that it has been ever since continued, to the great advantage of the public. A million was set apart every year towards a sinking fund for the extinction of the National Debt. In order to prevent reckless borrowing, an Act was passed requiring that in all future loans, besides making provision for the interest, taxes should be imposed giving an income of one per cent. for the redemption of the capital: each loan was

therefore virtually raised in the form of a terminable annuity. The enormous frauds on the revenue were put down with a strong hand. The Customs dues, which had been arranged on so false a principle, and were in such confusion, as to be a disgrace to a mercantile nation, were reduced to one standard,—an operation so extensive that it required the passing of three thousand resolutions through the Legislature, in order to effect it. Official salaries were paid in full; on the one hand quarterings, and on the other, perquisites of doubtful character, were abolished. Private contracts for the army, and with them a large train of abuses, ceased. The Naval Board (Admiralty) was required to make all its payments in bills drawn at ninety days, which were consequently accepted as cash. In order to explain the nature of this last change, it should be stated that the Board had previously paid for all stores, &c., in bills payable at uncertain periods, which from the length of their date were never considered as *cash*, but were taken subject to a very heavy depreciation by way of interest. This interest, or discount, was always high, and in one year rose to the enormous charge of 14 per cent., a loss to the nation that was entirely done away by the new arrangement. The accounts in every department were henceforward kept with strict accuracy, and the results were made public at stated periods.

Even in our day any one of these changes would be considered a very substantial measure of Reform; united, they form a fitting memorial of Pitt's financial skill. It must be remembered, too, that the movement was spontaneous on his part; there was no outward pressure; the cry was for representative and not financial Reform. Nor was it a mere spasmodic effort called forth by the urgency of the moment; the system was carried out as long as Mr. Pitt remained in office. So sweeping had been his attack on the Excise department, that in 1799 there were 747 fewer officers for the management of a revenue of twelve millions than in 1784 for a revenue of six millions. And in 1799, when the gross revenue stood at nearly twenty-two millions, the expenses of collection were only £3,000 a year more than in 1784, when the revenue was little more than fourteen millions.\*

The subject of *representative* Reform also occupied Mr. Pitt's

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\* In looking over the ways and means of this period, among many familiar taxes which since then have been trebled and quadrupled, postage forms an exception to the rule; Mr. Pitt gradually *increased* it, while we have gone in the other direction. Government lotteries always figure in the list, furnishing an annual profit of £250,000. There is a tax on the servants of bachelors, which is next door to a tax on bachelors themselves,—a proposal which is said to find much favour with the gentler sex.

attention. He contended that the representation should be adapted to those changes which had then notoriously taken place in the state of the country: some towns had decayed and fallen away in importance, while others had risen in the same proportion, so that a redistribution of seats was imperatively called for. He proposed to disfranchise thirty-six boroughs, and transfer their members to the counties; and also to include copyholders in the franchise. The measure was in some sort prospective, and provided for the extinction of any boroughs the population of which should fall below a certain standard, and for the transfer of their privileges to more populous places. Opposition to the Bill was raised on many grounds, but one objection was justly fatal. It proposed to give *pecuniary compensation to the disfranchised boroughs*. Mr. Fox took the higher and far more worthy ground, that the franchise was not a *property*, but a *trust*; and the House coincided with his view of the question. This was Mr. Pitt's second attempt at Reform. Two years previously he had proposed a measure for the prevention of bribery at elections, disfranchising all such boroughs as were convicted of gross corruption: he also sought an increase of county members and of members for the metropolis. But both opportunities passed away, and the attention of the country was soon absorbed by more pressing duties.\*

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\* It is a trite observation that 'history repeats itself,' and there will be found a strong resemblance between some political features of the reign of George III. and that of Queen Victoria. In 1785, owing to the state of the Continent, and more especially of France, a proposal was brought forward for the fortification of Portsmouth and Plymouth dockyards. A Commission reported on the subject, declaring the works to be an absolute necessity, and estimating the cost at the very modest sum of £760,097. It was objected by a few that the comparative security which would thus be insured, would render successive Governments careless as to the efficiency of the navy; others thought that the garrison duty would entail a large increase of the army; while others, forestalling the Manchester school, were satisfied that the expenditure was simple waste, that the danger was imaginary, and that no hostile landing was either intended, or was practicable. About this time, the attention of Ministers was called, in the House, to the stupendous works then being carried on at Cherbourg, and the standing menace which they conveyed to this country. Then followed a Treaty of Commerce with France, but on the strict basis of reciprocity. French wines, brandies, vinegars, and oils, were admitted at a large reduction of duty. Beer was charged on both sides 30 per cent. *ad valorem*. The remainder of the tariff was remarkably favourable to England. Hardware, cutlery, cabinet ware, and all works of iron, steel, copper, and brass, were admitted reciprocally at 10 per cent. *ad valorem*. All cottons and all woollens, including hosiery, at 12 per cent. *ad valorem*. Porcelain, earthenware, plate and other glass, at 12 per cent. The only manufactures that seem to be excluded are paper and silk. The Treaty was certainly devised on a just and liberal scale; the reciprocity was genuine, and not all on one side; and whatever advantages one country possessed were fully shared by the other. France exchanged her abundant natural products, in which she had the superiority over us, against our manufactures, in which we had the superiority over her. In the Parliamentary debates which followed, the views on both sides as to the expected trade in French wines were precisely those with which the public have become familiar during the Session of 1860.

During the King's unhappy malady in 1788, and the beginning of 1789, Ministers were placed in a position of much difficulty by the conduct of the Prince of Wales and his advisers, who were clamorous for the proclamation of a Regency. Pitt at first avoided a collision by repeatedly adjourning Parliament. When the question could be deferred no longer, Mr. Fox claimed the Regency as the Prince's *right*. The error was a fatal one, as Mr. Pitt at once perceived. He strenuously denied the existence of any such right, and defended the privileges of Parliament, with whom undoubtedly lay the nomination. During these discussions the Irish Legislature, which was notoriously disaffected, passed an Act enabling the Prince to assume the functions of the Crown in that country; and the advisers of H.R.H. were ready to urge his acceptance of the offer, even though the result should be the severance of the two kingdoms. In the midst of the strife between the Irish Viceroy and his rebellious Parliament, and the English Government and the Opposition, the King's health began unexpectedly to improve. The Regency Bill had passed the Commons, and was ready for a third reading in the House of Lords, when the Chancellor announced that, owing to the decided change in the medical reports, it would be unnecessary to proceed further. In a few days an official statement was made of the King's recovery, to the great joy of the nation,—a joy all the greater that the excessive caution of the physicians had for some weeks understated the improvement, and the final announcement came in the form of a surprise.

When, therefore, his Majesty went to return thanks at St. Paul's, the enthusiasm of the people knew no bounds. Their anxiety during his illness had been manifested in many ways, some of them singular enough. The Court physicians received menacing letters almost daily, warning them to pay closer attention to the King's health, or their lives would pay the forfeit. One of them was stopped in his carriage by an eager crowd, who demanded an account of his patient; and, the report being unfavourable, he made his escape with difficulty. Among all classes, high or low, there had seemed for four months to be no

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There is a similarity, too, in the anxiety created by the restless ambition, the duplicity, and the suspected ulterior designs of France,—a feeling which had been strengthened by the part she had taken against this country in the very crisis of the American war. Then, as now, though circumstances were suspicious, the most friendly protestations were made by France, while her frank and honourable conduct throughout the negotiations almost lulled to sleep any doubts that previously existed of her sincerity. The Treaty was duly ratified; but before it could come into operation, the financial system of France utterly broke down, and that confusion commenced, which, to an observant eye, foretold more serious disaster.



other topic of conversation. The daily bulletin could be read in the faces of the crowd. No wonder that the enthusiasm was now somewhat disorderly. Whatever the King's faults may have appeared to the statesmen who surrounded him, the public knew nothing of them. His character was not one to be harshly viewed by English eyes. His firmness, energy, combativeness, and self-reliance; his domestic habits, his Protestantism, and, as compared with his predecessors, his thoroughly English sympathies, had all been dwelt upon during his illness, and the more kindly that his reign seemed over. Pitt, who was in his train, was more popular still. Personally he was unfamiliar to the people; his manner was cold, reserved, and apparently haughty; indeed, he was unapproachable within a certain distance, to all but a few personal friends. His character, his high principle, his talents, compelled universal homage, his bitterest opponents not being excepted; but there was nothing suave and winning about his manners, nothing to give him that personal popularity which is so great an element of success, whether in a statesman or a general. But the greeting that awaited him showed that he had already drawn to himself the great heart of the nation. When he came into power six years before, the country was in perplexity; commerce was prostrated; the revenue was below the necessities of the State; the noblest of colonies was alienated from the mother country, after engaging her in an unsuccessful and discreditable war; public confidence was shaken, and public spirit was almost extinct:—such was the condition of affairs when he, a mere stripling,\* and not possessing the confidence of the House of Commons, undertook the government. And now commerce was rapidly improving; the financial resources of the country began to develop; the revenue had increased from eleven millions to sixteen and a quarter millions; Ireland, which had hitherto been a perpetual source of uneasiness, was quiet and prosperous, almost exempt from taxation, and showing every year an extending trade; there was no ground of quarrel with any continental power; the army and navy had been placed on a better footing; the spirit of the nation stood high; and the energy of the administration at home had made itself felt in the remotest dependencies of the Crown. He had rescued the King from a worthless back-stairs influence which had

\* When Pitt paid his first visit to Cambridge, after taking office, the University was in a ferment. The court that was paid to him on all sides, as the powerful dispenser of place and preferment, was almost ludicrous. It was Paley's turn to preach before the University; and he, with more wit than reverence, took for his text, 'There is a lad here with five barley-loaves and two small fishes: but what are they among so many?'

baffled all previous Ministers; he had gained the entire confidence of the Legislature, who unhesitatingly endorsed his acts; and, as for the public, they were glad of an opportunity for a demonstration in his favour, such as it has been the lot of few men to receive in acknowledgment simply of their public worth.

This is regarded by Lord Macaulay as the turning-point in Mr. Pitt's career. He now stands on the very apex of his fame; henceforward he is steadily to descend. This man, with his large and liberal instincts, is to be hated for his arbitrary decrees; his popularity is to vanish; the success which never yet failed him is to be turned into misfortune; and his policy is to be one continued succession of blunders. But if there was an evident change in Mr. Pitt's policy, does it not find a justification in the marvellously altered circumstances of the times? Has the mariner no need of caution on a rocky shore, and with a shifting wind? Because Mr. Pitt brought forward measures of Reform in 1782 and 1785, was he necessarily bound to support Reform ten years later, especially such an extreme proposal as that of 1793? In the former cases the country was in a calm and reasonable mood, able to consider the question dispassionately, and to seek in its deliberations the general benefit. In the latter we were at war with France; the country swarmed with French agents; 'universal revolution' and the 'disorganization of Europe' were the watchwords of the French leaders; a Jacobin convention sat in Edinburgh, and another in London, with numberless committees in connexion with them dispersed over the kingdom; while the low coffee-houses and taverns rang with revolutionary ballads. Indeed, with respect to this very Reform Bill, addresses were offered by Englishmen to the Committee in Paris, declaring that 'from thence to the entire establishment of a Republic, the transition would be easy.' To war abroad, was he to add distractions and fierce dissensions at home, and the unsettling of the very principles of the government of the nation?

His repressive measures constitute heavy charges against the Minister; but self-preservation is the first law of a State as well as of an individual; and we, who are wise after the event, and have seen the bubble of 'Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity,' utterly burst, cannot conceive how the beauty of its colours at first dazzled the public eye. It is impossible for us to understand the effect of the first outbreak of the French Revolution upon surrounding countries, our own not excepted. The bonds which held society together were so loosened, there was such a tendency to disruption, that the presence of coercive measures was an

absolute necessity, in order to secure the State. The fact that so many men of all parties, and of every shade of political colour, combined not merely to support, but to enforce these measures, should convince us that we are unable to judge of the necessity which existed for their employment, and that they were not more severe than circumstances demanded. Moreover, while a free Parliament remained, the extraordinary powers granted to the Government could not be seriously abused.

But the ugliest blot cast upon the fame of Pitt is the supposed predilection he had for war. Because during the greater part of his career he had the misfortune to be a War Minister, and because, being involved in a war, he concentrated his own efforts, and the energies of his country, upon the object of making war successfully, he has been charged with *preferring war*, and even creating it. Contrary to the popular opinion, which has been formed on the representations of prejudiced and party writers, nothing is more evident in the history of these times than the reluctance with which the Minister commenced hostilities, and the eagerness with which he seized every likely opportunity during the contest for negotiating a genuine peace. Peace was in fact necessary for the development of his schemes of finance; all his plans were laid on that basis, and any interference with them could only be considered by him as a misfortune. When the French monarchy was overthrown, he, like others, doubtless saw that a contest was approaching; but so far from hastening the catastrophe, he retarded it as long as possible. The budget of 1792 is a proof of his pacific intentions. Instead of increasing the armaments, he reduced both branches of the service; and instead of increasing the revenue, he repealed a quarter of a million of taxes. When, two months later, France declared war against Austria, he hastened to declare that England would certainly not interfere in the affairs of the Continent. Though the fact was not generally known during his life, he was at this time endeavouring to procure a treaty-engagement from the northern powers not to interfere with France unless she overstepped her existing boundaries; which of itself is sufficient to dissipate the idea that he entertained any hostile prejudice against the nation, as maintained by some, or that he engaged in war in order to restore the Bourbons, as maintained by others. All the evidence tends in the same direction. Marat, a French diplomatic agent, who was in London at the close of 1792, was repeatedly sent for by Mr. Pitt, who urged him to obtain definite proposals from his Government, and promised to give them the most favourable consideration. So convinced was this agent of Mr. Pitt's desire for peace, that in one of his dispatches he says, 'Mr.

Pitt dreads war even more than the aristocracy of the Opposition.' Talleyrand also was then in London, and he writes that the British Ministry 'had nothing more at heart than to treat for the preservation of their neutrality.'

At this very time Pitt was, through Edmund Burke, seeking the assistance of Fox and his party; which would have been impossible, had Pitt's own views on the war been such as they are generally represented; impossible, too, had there been truth in the statement still pertinaciously maintained, that Pitt could bear no rival, and would never consent to share his power. In order to appreciate the significance of these overtures, it must be remembered how violently, and unfairly, and even, in one memorable instance,\* unconstitutionally, Fox had conducted himself in Opposition, and especially what were his views of the French Revolution. Lord Macaulay charges Pitt with misunderstanding the Revolution. Did Fox understand it better, who rejoiced that France had now 'erected a Government from which neither insult nor injury could be dreaded by her neighbours,' and who declared it to be 'the most stupendous and glorious monument which human integrity had erected to human happiness in any age or country?' The fact is that Fox's extreme views on this subject not only sundered him hopelessly from Pitt, but resulted in the breaking up of his own party, most of whom were disposed to look favourably on the ministerial proposals. The French excesses already excited disgust, if not apprehension; and a desire was very generally expressed to combine for the national safety. One meeting after another was held at Burlington House with this view; but Fox refused to see any danger; he still more obstinately refused to take office under Pitt, and there was strife in the camp of the Opposition. 'Mr. Fox's coach stops the way,' said Burke, who would declaim against his old leader by the hour together. The Duke of Portland was in an unfortunate predicament. His judgment drew him in one direction, and his friendship in another. He could not decide what course to take, or rather he could not adhere to his decision, when it was taken. He resolved in the

\* In 1791, when Pitt sustained his first serious check. It had always been the policy of this country to maintain friendly relations with Russia; and Pitt was the only statesman of his day who perceived the danger to Europe which was bound up in the designs of Catharine upon Constantinople. He therefore resolved on an armed demonstration; but his policy was not understood; and, not being supported either by the House or the country, the project was reluctantly abandoned. One cause of the failure was Fox's extraordinary conduct in sending Mr. Adair on a private mission to the Court of St. Petersburg, with instructions counter to those of the English Ambassador, whom he subjected to a series of mortifying insults. The emissary was received by the Empress with every honour paid to the accredited agents of foreign Courts, and perfectly succeeded in his discreditable mission.

morning, and retracted before night. He declared he would break with Fox; and then found he must not, could not, would not, break with Fox. On one side stood Burke, Windham, Lord Loughborough, and the Earl of Malmesbury, and with them some forty Peers, and more than a hundred Members of the House of Commons, all disposed to coalesce with the Government. On the other side were Lords Lansdowne and Lauderdale, Sheridan, and Lord G. Cavendish, with a following of fifty or sixty Members in the Lower House, and scarcely ten in the Upper,—who were firmly resolved to stand by their chief and remain in Opposition. In these negotiations with the Whig party, Pitt not only made the first advances, but met his opponents considerably more than half-way. He sent the draft of a Proclamation (on Seditious Publications, &c.) to the Duke of Portland, and accepted his alterations. He was frank and even confidential as to the tenor of his policy. He engaged to yield wherever it was possible, and offered four Cabinet places for immediate acceptance. In addition, he promised the Lieutenancy of Ireland, and the post of Governor-General of India; and he would make the way for Fox to enter the Foreign Office in a few months' time. He said that his only difficulty with the King would be with respect to Fox, 'and that difficulty was solely owing to Fox's conduct in Parliament during the last four months;' that everything else was entirely forgotten;—and he added, with the sweetness of a pure and noble disposition, that 'he himself did not recollect that in all their Parliamentary altercations a single word had ever dropped from either of them to prevent their acting together, without any fair reproach being made of a disavowal of principles, or an inconsistency of character.' Fox would not respond in the slightest degree, but continually objected; spoke meanly of Pitt, affecting to doubt his sincerity; displayed unusual bitterness, and, when hard pressed by his friends, relapsed into silence. When, at a meeting of the chief Whig Lords, it was unanimously resolved to move no Amendment to the Address, Fox, coming in at the time, demurred; announced that he should take another line of conduct in the House of Commons; and, on being remonstrated with, declared with an oath, '*that there was no Address at this moment Pitt could frame, which he would not propose an Amendment to, and divide the House upon!*' The negotiations, which commenced early in June, were continued, off and on, to the close of 1792; but for the present they came to nothing, 'because,' said Burke, 'there was no doing without Fox, or with him.'

It must ever be matter of regret that this great man could not make some sacrifice of personal feeling at such a juncture,

and so have played a worthy part in the events which followed. We utterly repudiate that indiscriminate charity which is the cant of the present day, and is itself the result of laxity rather than liberality of principle. The barest justice sometimes demands a harsh sentence. And so it is in the case of Fox. His genial qualities offer but a poor compensation for his conduct as a statesman and a patriot. One of the most distinguished writers of his own party (Lord Brougham) has brought this grave charge against him,—that he ‘modified his principles according to his situation and circumstances as a party-chief; making the ambition of the man, and the interest of his followers, too uniformly the governing rule of his conduct.’ Mr. Burke denounced his private embassy to St. Petersburg as ‘a most unconstitutional act, and a high treasonable misdemeanour.’ Certainly it was an idea akin to that of the famous India Bill, which would have fixed its own nominees in power, in spite alike of the Crown and the people. It was a similar spirit which maintained an intimate and avowed correspondence with the chiefs of the French Revolution, when their ulterior views with respect to this country were notorious. And throughout the long contest which followed, Mr. Fox was standing counsel for the National Convention in the English Parliament. There was no act of theirs, however sanguinary, which he did not hasten to extenuate; no project, however ambitious, for which he had not some ready plea. The bravery of the French armies, the noble sentiments of the French government, the patriotism of the French people, were the themes which his eloquence delighted to adorn; while the operations of the Allies, and especially of our own army, was a never-failing source of ridicule.\* With perverse consistency the struggle was

\* Subsequently, the volunteer movement, and the National Subscription, were alike discouraged as unconstitutional, inasmuch as they furnished arms and money to the Government without the control of Parliament. In a *jeu d’esprit* of the time, the following speech on volunteering is put into the mouth of Fox at the Whig Club:—

‘When late the foe resolv’d t’ invade us,  
Plann’d their Invincible Armadas  
Of windmill raft, and air-balloon,  
Like Bedlamites at full o’ the moon;  
Hector’d, and vow’d they’d give no quarter  
To British pudding, beef, and porter;  
And show’d their nose in Bay of Bantry;  
Then every guardian of his pantry  
To our State-chiefs his service tender’d:  
For apprehension keen engender’d  
A military Influenza:—  
Marshall’d on ev’ry side you then saw  
Heroes that Mars himself might brag on;  
(Not Cadmus, dentist to the dragon,



always considered as a struggle of liberty against despotism,—a struggle in which all that was great and noble was on the side of the Republic, while all that was illiberal, base, tyrannical, was on the side of its opponents. At home disaffection was defended as Liberalism; conspiracy as mere political agitation. All repressive measures were decried as unconstitutional, and to Englishmen unendurable; and the nation was openly, and in plain terms, counselled to resist such laws. Lord Malmesbury sharpened the horns of a terrible dilemma when he said, 'If Fox is sincere, he is dangerous, acting upon principle; if insincere, he is dangerous, acting without principle.'

About this time, Mr. Canning entered Parliament. For a year or two previously he had created great sensation at the debating clubs, where he nightly harangued against the Government, and startled his hearers by the ardour of his appeals on behalf of the people. Nevertheless his style was not such as we instinctively associate with the idea of a public orator, any more than was his personal appearance. The slight, graceful figure, the classic features, the aristocratic bearing, the clear,

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With grinders from the monster's chops  
 Extracted, rais'd more valiant crops;  
 Saw Pleaders, in *contempt of Courts*,  
 Quit law—for gunpowder—reports;  
 Saw Clerks, their sable stole and beaver  
 Discarding, catch the scarlet fever;  
 Zeal militant Dissenters seize,  
 And make starch Quakers "stand at ease;"  
 Then cooks took leave of roast and fried,  
 And clapp'd their spits upon their side,  
 Forsook their gridironic toils,  
 And sigh'd for none but *hostile* broils:  
 The chimney-sweeps, and printers' imps  
 From black turn'd red, like scalded shrimps;  
 Butchers their slaughtering blades on steel  
 Whetted for foes instead of veal;—  
 While sound of spirit-stirring drum  
 Struck marrow-bones and cleavers dumb;  
 No leaven froth'd in baker's bowls,  
 Who thought of none but muster-rolls;  
 No tailor clapp'd his goose the fire on,  
 But hot relinquish'd for cold iron,  
 And of nine snips brought up the rear,  
 Who clubb'd to make one Grenadier.  
 Blacksmiths, recoiling from their labours,  
 Hammer'd their horse-shoes into sabres;  
 Pork-wives left sausages and souse  
 To stuff ball-cartridges for spouse;  
 Nay, chitterlings to sword-belts twisted;  
 While e'en the Hangman's self enlisted,  
 Threat'ning with steel instead of rope,  
 To give destruction ampler scope.'

melodious, not too powerful voice,—the logical *method* of the speaker, dealing in illustration or giving free play to a lively fancy at the outset of his address, but gradually working closely to his subject, strengthening his argument at every step, avoiding all empty declamation, and concluding the moment he had done; this was a true orator, and yet hardly the style of man for an arch-rebel, or mischievous demagogue. No wonder that having won Canning to their side, the Liberals should make much of him. He had the *entrée* at Carlton House, Devonshire House, Burlington House; and was as popular with the patricians as with the public; indeed, more so; for his delicate satire and scholarly allusions were appreciated better, and he was much more at his ease, in that upper circle than in the crowd below. Grey-headed statesmen listened with delight to the young student, and prophesied splendidly for his future career. His name was already flouted in the faces of Ministers, and Sheridan in his place went so far as to allude to Canning's approaching entry into Parliament. He entered about the expected time, but not in the uniform of buff and blue. The fact was simply this:—so long as Canning harmlessly conversed or debated in reception-rooms, and club-houses, and popular assemblies, he found nothing to disturb his democratic theories. But when brought to the point of action, a new light broke in upon him, and for the first time he really seemed to understand that a terrible meaning lay hid within his harmless words,—that the conflict which, to him and his friends, was of opinion only, would be one of physical force among the masses. It was only during an interview with a secret delegate, a man of position and fame in his day, (William Godwin,) that he saw the end of the path on which he had entered. This man came to announce that the people were weary of their own inaction, and of the coldness of their leaders; that they were now thoroughly organized; that the leading Committees had selected him (Canning) as their head; that they would serve him faithfully; that they impatiently waited for his consent to the arrangement, and would at once be ready to undertake any enterprise that he might determine. The young man was thunderstruck. He asked time for reflection, though in reality his decision was already taken. The hopelessness, not to say the absurdity, of such a scheme was apparent on the face of it; but this was not all. Canning was essentially a lover of order; his whole nature shrank from the idea of such close contact with sedition; and moreover, unconsciously to himself, the aristocrat was too strong within him to allow even of direct contact with the mob. He not only gave a decided refusal to the agitators, but so violent

was the revulsion of feeling, that he sought an interview with Mr. Pitt, compared notes on political views, and, after a long and mutually satisfactory conversation, gave in his adhesion to the Minister, with whom he remained closely connected until Pitt's death.

When war first broke out in 1793, the majority of the Whig party, realizing the magnitude of the crisis, gave a generous support to the Government; and at the close of 1794, the Duke of Portland, Earl Fitzwilliam, Earl Spencer, and Mr. Windham joined the Cabinet, and, by this union of all ranks and parties, greatly strengthened the hands of Ministers both in Parliament and the country; besides the significance of the act in the eyes of our enemies abroad.

Home affairs began to look critical, and required wary management. The Edinburgh Convention, with its 'sections,' and committees of 'organization,' 'finance,' 'public safety,' and so forth, had been successfully broken up; but a similar attempt which was made upon the London Convention miscarried. The jury refused to convict, and Horne Tooke, with his companions, was discharged from prison. The popular disaffection spread all the more rapidly after this failure, being further stimulated by several ill-advised speeches which the prosecution called forth in the House of Commons, and by the exertions of French emissaries out of doors. The high price of provisions consequent on two deficient harvests increased the discontent; and while the King was on his way to open Parliament, the mob surrounded the royal carriage, not, as five years before, with loyal shouts, but with groans and curses. 'Peace!' 'No war!' 'No King!' 'Down with George!' were their cries, mingled with execrations of Pitt, and clamours for bread. While the procession was passing through Palace Yard, a bullet entered the carriage window; and, on its return, the mob tore in pieces the state-coach, the King himself narrowly escaping the same fate. Party spirit is a tame thing in our day; but in the debate in the House of Lords which took place a few hours after this attack, Lord Lansdowne could assert that 'it was only an alarm bell to terrify the people into weak compliances,—a scheme planned and executed by Ministers themselves.'

For three years this unsatisfactory state of things continued, and, as regarded the war, all the efforts of the nation, gigantic as they were, seemed utterly powerless to turn the tide of French success. Holland had been completely overrun by them,—was in fact an affiliated republic; so was the kingdom of Upper Italy; Belgium had long been annexed; Prussia was neutral by compulsion; Austria, the most stubborn of foes, had made peace with the Re-

public by the treaty of Campo Formio; while Spain, by no means a contemptible power, was at open war with this country. For a time England was compelled, if fight she would, to fight alone, and saw half the Continent arrayed against her. The taxation had increased six millions per annum within six years, and fell upon the nation with fearful weight. It was in this extremity that the Bank of England succumbed to the pressure, and stopped payment. The panic was universal, and men seemed wild with fright. In February the three per cents had sunk to 50½, and in April they stood at 48½. To add to the troubles of the time, a formidable mutiny broke out in the fleet, and a still more formidable rebellion in Ireland. These dangers, however, served only to elicit the unconquerable spirit of the nation. The King, an overwhelming majority of the Parliament, the landed interest, the clergy,—all the wealth and intelligence of the country, sustained the Minister. Pitt resolved on still more energetic measures. At one stroke he tripled the assessed taxes, which became a *tenth part* of all incomes of £200 and upwards. The spirit of the nation soon recovered, and rose in proportion to its own efforts. Close upon the tidings of Cape St. Vincent, came the battle of Camperdown, and, far more glorious than either, the battle of the Nile. An abundant harvest gave a sufficiency to the poorest. The balance of trade for five years showed upwards of six millions increase, even after the enormous importations of corn then necessary had been paid for. The attempts which had been made, and twice repeated, to negotiate a peace, and the insulting manner in which they had been rejected by the French Directory, removed all doubt as to the true nature of the contest. A National Defence Fund was organized, to which the Bank of England gave £200,000, the Duke of Bedford £100,000, the Duke of Bridgewater £100,000, Smiths, the bankers, £100,000, several noblemen £40,000 and £20,000 each, and most of the members of the Cabinet £10,000 each. Large mercantile firms subscribed in the same princely fashion, Robert Peel of Bury being one of the names near the head of the list. This was at a time when money was worth double its present value, specie was scarce, the war had continued for five years, and every imaginable burden of taxation had been imposed upon the country. Many persons of distinction were compelled to reduce their establishments in consequence of their liberality, but all classes vied with each other in self-denial and devotion to the common cause.

The English Minister now appeared to be seated more firmly than ever in his place, and to have taken a new lease of power. Beside the evidences of his vigorous policy abroad, he had suc-

ceeded in calming the frenzy of Ireland; and, having overcome the stubborn opposition of her legislature, had effected her union with this country. The great inducement held out to the Irish Parliament as the price of its acquiescence in the Union was the removal of the Roman Catholic disabilities; but it is clear that a large party in England, holding a high position in the State, were perfectly willing, having accomplished the Union, to withhold the promised concession; and here was the fatal canker. Half the Cabinet, a large proportion of Ministers not of the Cabinet, and many influential supporters of the Government, were opposed to him; but Pitt did not swerve for a moment from his purpose. The first session of the '*United Imperial Parliament*' was at hand, and he resolved that it should be inaugurated by a generous measure of relief. It was a question of principle with him quite as much as policy. But the King made it a question of principle also, on the opposite side;—and it was a subject on which he was never likely to give way. Pitt had evidently presumed upon his position, and had not informed the King of his intention to bring in a measure so important, until he formally offered it for the royal approbation. This the King at once refused, abruptly and ungraciously. A refusal on a question of such moment, and on which he felt so deeply, seemed to Mr. Pitt to allow of only one course, if he would retain his own self-respect; and after a brief correspondence he sent in his resignation. This was the only difference the King ever had with Pitt during his long term of office, and his conduct appears the more hasty and inexcusable. Pitt, on the other hand, was certainly in fault. The question of Catholic Relief had been discussed in the Cabinet, more or less, for four months; and during that time it was never once officially named to the King, though a question of vital importance in his mind, and one indeed which almost assumed the form of monomania. Sundry members of the Cabinet took advantage of their position, and both directly and indirectly inflamed the King's mind against the measure itself, and against the Minister who was so secretly preparing it. Addington, the Speaker, a personal friend of Pitt's, was implicated in the intrigue, and was evidently bidding eagerly for the Treasury. Lord Grenville and Mr. Dundas, on the other hand, knowing that the King was really looking towards Addington, roused the pride of Pitt, and widened the breach between him and his sovereign.

Some obscurity still rests upon the affair; but after his decision was once taken, nothing could be more noble than Pitt's conduct on retiring from office. So far from involving his Cabinet in the transaction, he made the act a purely

personal one, and only informed Dundas and Lord Grenville of the step he was about to take. He used all possible influence with his colleagues to induce them to remain; many of them, it must be confessed, not requiring any very decided pressure; and among the rest, his own brother, the Earl of Chatham, who thought that place and £3,000 a year were not to be lightly bartered for a little foolish pride. But Canning, Dundas, Windham, with Lords Grenville and Spencer, all strongly in favour of Catholic Emancipation, followed their chief. On the first news of the impending change, a great panic ensued in the city. Stocks fell five per cent., and there was no market at all for Exchequer Bills. But Pitt at once caused the information to be circulated that he should not retire suddenly, that he should support the new Ministry, and that he should open the new budget; which last information especially, calmed the general apprehension, and averted much commercial disaster. The King everywhere spoke warmly of his conduct, saying that it was beyond all comparison more honourable than that of any of his predecessors. 'His was a magnanimity unparalleled among politicians,' is the sober verdict of one who knew the whole circumstances. The Minister left behind him the most ample preparations and dispositions with respect to the war, as was shown by the successful operations of Sir Ralph Abercrombie in Egypt, and of Nelson in the Baltic; and his successors had his best advice and counsel whenever they thought fit to ask it. Indeed, during the next two years Pitt supported the new Government far beyond the advice of his friends, and a due regard to his own position, to say nothing of popularity. 'As in administration, so in retirement,' says Mr. Tomline, 'we see him displaying the same greatness, the same activity, the same patriotism. His loyalty depended not upon office; his love of his country was equally evident in every situation. Instead of a peevish secession from the discharge of his public duty, or a hostile obstruction to the measures of the new Administration, which must instantly have sunk under the weight of his opposition, he gave them their best claim to credit in the country, by an open declaration in their favour, and by a direct avowal of his determination to assist them while they acted upon the principles which had been the rule of his own conduct. This assistance he gave publicly and privately, with a zeal and disinterestedness of which there is no other instance in the history of political parties.'

Mr. Addington, who now came into power, was an amiable, well-intentioned man, much respected for his moral worth, but who had given no proof of statesmanlike qualities of mind. As



Speaker, he had conducted the business of the House with success, thanks to a handsome person, and dignified, though rather formal, manners. But when it was known that he was to form an Administration, and take the reins out of Pitt's hands, the proposal was greeted with general ridicule. Quoth Fox, 'If Mr. Addington wishes for supreme authority, let him be King of Bath, if he has interest enough at the Rooms. He will find it more pleasant, and, I am persuaded, more to his reputation.' The new Premier over-estimated his own powers, and thought he could rule the House as well from the Treasury Bench as from the Chair; and that he could govern the country as well as the House. He was much mistaken on both points; but his mediocrity suited the King, as did his stringent views on the Catholic question, and his general subserviency. With a change of Administration came a change of policy. The nation, exhausted by its efforts, and seeing its leader set aside, lost heart for the war; it suited Buonaparte's views to call a truce; indeed, he had already been making overtures to this end;—hence the Peace of Amiens. The Addington Government immediately proceeded to cut down the expenditure and the taxation. They reduced the army; they dismissed many thousands of able seamen,—indeed, more than half the naval force; they slackened the exertions in the dockyards; they disbanded first the militia, and then the volunteers, and acted as though fighting was for ever gone out of fashion. Buonaparte was only biding his time, and grew more and more audacious in his demands as these measures came into operation. Still the Government did not take the alarm, though much uneasiness prevailed in the public mind. Pitt took no very active part in politics, but spent his time chiefly at Bath, drinking the waters; or at his estate at Holl-wood, superintending the alterations that were never finished; or at Walmer Castle, drawing up plans for the defence of the coast; or corresponding on subjects connected with national finance. Occasionally he came up to town, and took his seat behind Ministers, when his influence was needed to turn the scale in their favour, or paid a visit to Addington at Richmond Park; but he had small reason to be satisfied with the state of things, and was always glad to get back to his retirement.

Instead of following him there, let us glance for a moment at the weapon which won all his Parliamentary battles; one of so fine a temper that its edge was never turned, nor its lustre dimmed, through all those conflicts. Yet how can we describe his wondrous oratory? how give an adequate idea of that which addresses itself to the ear only, and which, like music, subtle and evanescent, asserts its power, and is straightway gone? The

reporter's skill can do much, but, in the case of every true orator, the printed is to the uttered speech, what the composer's score is to the vocal orchestra, the statue to the nymph, the painted portrait to the living man. And Pitt's oratory especially suffers from the miserable reporting of the time. Every epithet was so fitting, every antithesis so correctly balanced, every cadence so well measured, that the loss or transposition even of a word destroyed that perfect rhythm which made his oratory true music. Yet it was not a merely charming melody, as of some skilful player on the lute;—there was a volume and grandeur about it, like the roll of a full diapason, that satisfies the ear with its richness, and leaves it careless of all other sounds. When he spoke for the first time, Burke said enthusiastically that Lord Chatham lived again. But his style had not the vivacity, dash, and rude vigour of his father. It was more polished, more rounded and perfect, more solid, we might say more ponderous. His official statements were a marvel for simplicity and clearness, no matter how abstruse the subject; whereas the elder Pitt was not lucid in exposition. The son excelled in reply; the father rarely attempted it, and, when he did, generally failed. Both were perfect masters of invective,—in each case merciless and crushing. Pitt had a noble voice, but one rather monotonous in its sweetness; Lord Chatham's had an extraordinary compass,—at will soft and pleading, or thundering a perfect peal over the startled House. Pitt had not his father's defiant address, nor his animated gestures, nor his expressive countenance; nor did he rule by terror, and cow the members into subjection, as his father had done. But there was an indescribable dignity in his manner, and a lofty pride, which left him equally the undisputed master of the arena. Of his own contemporaries, Burke had the superiority in range, variety, and depth of thought; and Fox in nervous passionate power,—an ardour which at times burned like a furnace, and before which nothing could stand. But Pitt excelled them both in practical sagacity, in searching analysis, in the refutation of opponents, and in skill to strengthen his position from the very materials of debate. Burke had little discretion, and less self-control; Pitt was self-possessed and wary, and generally saw his way clearly to the goal before taking a single step. Fox lacked persistence in a given course; he was pliable and uncertain; indeed, if the truth must be plainly spoken, he lacked principle, and his words thereby lost half their power. But nothing could shake, much less bend, the determination of Pitt's iron will; and that his principle was far above all question gave him from the first a vast advantage over his rival.

Pitt did not slowly win his way as an orator; his style was perfect on his first entry into public life. When he spoke on the Household Expenses Bill, he was as self-possessed, as fluent, and as happy in his rejoinders, (for he spoke in *reply*,) as in the average speeches of his after years. He spoke from the Opposition benches; and, after agreeing with a Ministerial speaker that the proposition for the retrenchment of the Civil List would have come with more grace, and with more benefit to the public service, from His Majesty's Ministers, continued:—

‘They ought to have consulted the honour of their royal master, and have raised him in the affections of his people, by abating from magnificence what was due to necessity. Instead of waiting for the slow request of a burdened people, they should have courted popularity by a voluntary surrender of useless revenue. It would have been far more agreeable to the House to accede than to propose; much more gracious to have observed the free exercise of royal bounty, than to make an appeal, and point out what was right and what was necessary..... But surely it was no reason, that because Ministers failed to do their duty, the House should cease to attend to theirs. The obligations they had incurred as the representatives of the nation demanded from them not to hesitate in pursuing those objects even to the foot of the throne; and, actuated by duty, to advise the crown to part with useless ostentation, that it might preserve necessary power; to abate a little of pomp, that it might ascertain respect; to diminish a little of exterior grandeur, that it might increase and secure authentic dignity..... It would not derogate from the real glory of the crown to accept of the advice. It would be no diminution of true grandeur, to yield to the respectful petitions of the people. The tutelage of that House might be a hard term; but the guardianship of that House could not be disgraceful to a constitutional King.’

Rounded periods such as these, full of allusions to preceding speakers, were rolled off in unbroken succession, without apparent effort, for more than half an hour, in a firm, sonorous voice. No wonder that the House rang again and again with cheers as the young man sat down, or that Fox straightway carried him off to Brookes's, where he was voted in by acclamation. This success, marvellous as it was, admits of ready explanation. For some years, Lord Chatham had devoted his whole time to the education of William, believing with pardonable vanity that the lad ‘would one day increase the splendour of the name of Pitt.’ The Earl taught him from the very first to speak with elegance, and, afterwards to argue with logical precision. He frequently disputed with his son, never hesitating to open up the largest topics, and, by pressing him with all the objections and difficulties that occurred to him, and presenting the subject in every possible light, gave him unflinching readiness, and made him

an accomplished master of argument and fence, before he had encountered any more unfriendly opponents than the members, or occasionally the guests, of his own family. Mr. Pitt's style was more uniform than that of any speaker of his day. No matter what the subject, or where we open his numberless orations, there is no faltering throughout; no descent from a uniformly high standard; and there is scarcely one of his great efforts that is not perfect of its kind. Our only further extract is from a speech delivered in 1800, during one of the endless debates on the war. Mr. Tierney had called upon Ministers to 'define specifically the object of the war,—to state in one sentence, clearly, without *ifs* or *buts*, and special pleading ingenuity, what the object was.' Mr. Pitt said:—

'The honourable gentleman defies me to state, in one sentence, what is the object of the war. I do not know whether I can do this in one *sentence*, but in one *word* I can tell him that it is *SECURITY*;—security against a danger, the greatest that ever threatened the world—security against a danger which never existed in any past period of society. This country alone, of all the nations of Europe, presented barriers the best fitted to resist its progress. We alone recognised the necessity of open war with the principles of the French Revolution. We saw that it was to be resisted no less by arms abroad than by precaution at home; that we were to look for protection no less to the courage of our forces than to the wisdom of our councils. At the moment when those who now admit the dangers of Jacobinism, while they contend that it is extinct, used to palliate its atrocity, this House wisely saw that it was necessary to erect a double safeguard against a danger that wrought no less by undisguised hostility than by secret machination. But how long is it since the honourable gentleman and his friends discovered that the dangers of Jacobinism have ceased to exist? How long is it since they found that the cause of the French Revolution is not the cause of liberty? How or where did the honourable gentleman discover that the Jacobinism of Robespierre, of Barrère, of the Triumvirate, of the five Directors, has all disappeared, because it has all been centred and condensed in one man, who was reared in its bosom, whose celebrity was gained under its auspices, who was at once the child and the champion of all its atrocities? Our security in negotiation is to be this Buonaparté, who is now the sole organ of all that once was dangerous in the Revolution. Jacobinism is allowed to have formerly existed, because the power was divided. Now it is single, and no longer lives! The discovery is new, and I know not how it has been made. ....The honourable gentleman said that the war could not be "just," because it was carried on for the restoration of the house of Bourbon; and that it could not be "necessary," because we had refused to negotiate for peace when an opportunity was offered us. As to the first proposition, he has assumed the foundation of the

argument, and has left no ground for controverting or for explaining it, because he said that any attempt at explanation upon this subject is the mere ambiguous, unintelligible language of *ifs* and *buts*, and of special pleading. Now, Sir, I never had much liking to special pleading; and if ever I had any, it is by this time almost entirely gone. He has, besides, so abridged me of the use of particles, that although I am not particularly attached to the sound of an *if* or a *but*, I should be much obliged to the honourable gentleman if he would give me some others to supply their places. Is this, however, a light matter, that it should be treated in so light a manner? The restoration of the French monarchy, I will still tell the honourable gentleman, I consider as a most desirable object, because I think it would afford the strongest and best security to this country and to Europe. *But* this object may not be attainable; and *if* it be not attainable, we must be satisfied with the best security which we can find independent of it. Peace is most desirable to this country; *but* negotiation may be attended with greater evils than could be counterbalanced by any benefits which would result from it. And *if* this be found to be the case; *if* it afford no prospect of security; *if* it threaten all the evils which we have been long struggling to avert; *if* the prosecution of the war afford the prospect of attaining complete security; and *if* it may be prosecuted with increasing commerce, with increasing means, and with increasing prosperity, except what may result from the visitations of the seasons; then, I say, that it is prudent in us not to negotiate at the present moment. These are my *buts* and my *ifs*. This is my plea, and on no other do I wish to be tried by God and my country.'

To return to our narrative, which must now be very brief. When the Addington Administration proved itself so feeble and unworthy, Mr. Pitt's friends besought him, on the ground of public duty, to sever all connexion with it, and himself resume office. Mr. Canning, Lord Spencer, and the two Grenvilles engaged, not only for themselves but for all his former colleagues, that they would put out their whole strength in his support,—he was to make what use of them he pleased; he should not be fettered by any engagements; they were, one and all, ready to forego office themselves, and leave him free for any combination or political arrangement that he might think proper. Perhaps, no offer was ever made to a statesman so heartily, or with such perfect disinterestedness; yet even in this form the proposal failed of its effect, and Pitt thought himself too strongly bound by his promise to the King to support the Government, to be thus released at will. The conduct of Ministers was not worthy of such generosity. They were cold or cringing to the ex-Premier as their necessities prompted, sometimes they were weakly communicative, while at others, the most important

affairs were concluded without a word; and, worst of all, Addington employed his influence unfairly in the royal closet. Pitt's conduct was there misrepresented, and every effort was made to inflame the King's mind against his former adviser; apparently under the idea that no third choice was open, and that so long as Mr. Pitt was out, Mr. Addington must be in. It was in vain that the House showed its hearty contempt of the Government and its measures, and equally in vain that private schemes were in agitation to induce Mr. Addington to do what he clearly never thought of doing,—resign. Anonymous letters from individuals, plain statements signed by numbers, confidential intimations from members of the Cabinet, similar intimations from influential supporters in the House,—all these schemes were broached, though there is no clear proof that any of them were acted upon. Whether the rumour of them reached Addington's ears, or the indecent behaviour of the House occasioned him a misgiving, or the fact that his Cabinet was the scoff of every newspaper in the kingdom, and the theme of countless lampoons and epigrams, or whether the aspect of foreign affairs gave him alarm, certain it is that in the spring of 1803 he sought an interview with Pitt, professedly to obtain his accession to the Ministry. But either Mr. Addington's judgment or his sincerity was at fault, when he could not only propose that Pitt should accept a subordinate post, but that he should abandon his friends, and enter the Cabinet alone!

This was just before Buonaparte broke the Peace of Amiens, and renewed the war more furiously than ever; with a new significance for the English people, in the preparations for an immediate descent upon their shores.\* His double object in concluding

\* Buonaparte at once resumed military operations on the Continent, and carried out several favourite projects of annexation. We have seen some of these Napoleonic ideas latterly revived. With broken pledges, treaties, oaths, we are sufficiently familiar. The theory of natural frontiers is again asserted. Savoy, Switzerland, Belgium, Piedmont, Tuscany—we are speaking of sixty years ago, but the catalogue reads like that of to-day. At both periods the French have had designs upon the Turkish empire, but the doubtful relations with Russia hindered their execution. Just as the First Consul solemnly disavowed any design upon Egypt, though at the moment an expedition was secretly preparing; so we have been successively assured that no designs were entertained upon Savoy, or Switzerland, or the Rhine. While Buonaparte's ambassador in London was declaring that the French nation would not endure war, and that if it would, the army could not be relied on; Buonaparte in Paris was indiscreetly announcing that Malta and Egypt would be in his hands very shortly. And in like manner we were lately told that France was not prepared for war, did not intend war, and, in truth, had never armed,—and straightway followed the passage of the Alps, Palestro, Magenta, and Solferino. The favourite motto of the second Empire, '*L'Empire c'est la paix*,' is only an echo of the first. 'I want nothing on the Continent,' said Napoleon; 'it is ships, colonies, commerce, that I need.' But the words were spoken to General Mack, while 80,000 men, with sixty pieces of cannon, defiled before the conqueror on the heights of Ulm. It is curious to note also that the English Government were at



peace had been gained. He had recruited his own strength, and had lulled the English Government into a false security. Their negligence is something incredible. The naval department appears to have been left without any control whatever. Ships were rotting and wearing away, and nothing was done by way of replacement. Abuses which had been gradually weeded out under the former administration, cropped up again with more than their old luxuriance. Ships sent to sea with two, three, and even four years' pay due to the men,—the Channel fleet so reduced that the Admiral in command could not detach a squadron for any purpose whatever,—plans for reinforcing the navy accepted, postponed, and then cast aside altogether,—these were some of the charges brought against the Naval Board. The War Office was no better. Arms wanted, and none in store, and no efforts made to supply them,—muskets furnished to the volunteers at the rate of twenty-five to every hundred men,—in some instances accoutrements provided, but no arms; in others, arms, but no accoutrements,—such blunders would have been ludicrous had not the peril been so great. All the regulars and most of the militia were removed from Yorkshire and the north, and concentrated about London; so that the coast of Yorkshire, and Hull, its seaport, were quite defenceless: yet when several regiments of yeoman cavalry offered to march wherever their services were most needed, their offers were successively rejected, without any reason being assigned,—to the great offence of the commanding officers, and the indignation of the men. The safety of the Thames was not provided for, and London was in a tumult of rage. Sussex, though the road to the capital, was totally unprepared, either as regarded means of defence or offence; and the fact that Kent, so evidently exposed to attack, was so forward in preparation, was due exclusively to Pitt's efforts. He had for some time past urged upon the Admiralty the formation of gun-boat squadrons all along the coast; but, finding them, as usual, slow in taking up the idea, he used his influence as Warden of the Cinque Ports, and on his own responsibility organized a flotilla of one hundred and seventy boats between Margate and Hastings, with equipments and crews, all ready at short notice. With equal energy he supported the volunteer movement, which, in the flush of national enthusi-

that time debating whether or not to fortify the island of Perim, owing to French activity in the Red Sea. The latter were also projecting a canal through the Isthmus of Suez, and making surveys for that purpose. Add to this list the passionate interview with the English ambassador in 1803, in the presence of two hundred guests,—which had its counterpart on New Year's Day, 1859,—the question of fortifying London, an invasion panic, and the volunteer movement; and we have a curious list of historical parallels.

asm, placed 300,000 disciplined men at the service of the State. He himself was at the head of a regiment 3,000 strong, and was indefatigable in attendance on his duties, as though entering his public protest against the neglect of the Government. Of this neglect the country grew heartily weary. 'Pitt's return talked of, and wished,' is the significant entry in Wilberforce's diary. Many of Pitt's friends had already joined the Opposition; and although their leader at the time discountenanced such a step, yet his own patience gave way at last, and in the spring session of 1804 he moved for an inquiry into the state of the navy. From that moment the fate of the Administration was sealed. Addington could never see, or would never acknowledge, how heavily he leaned on Pitt for support; but when this support failed, he found himself compelled to resign.

Mr. Pitt received the royal commands to form a new ministry; but owing to the threatening aspect of public affairs, and the excited state of the King, he consented to the stipulation that the Catholic question should remain in abeyance. The same large views filled his mind as formerly. He was not, and never had been, exclusive; and, in spite of Lord Eldon's terror at the proposal, he resolved to form an Administration on a broad basis. His hopes were unfortunately disappointed. When the list was completed and carried to the King, Fox's name was struck out; and the Grenvilles, Windham, Lord Spencer, and others, had latterly united so closely with Fox, that they felt bound in honour to stand with him. They had made their election, shrewdly perceiving that Pitt's health, and the King's life, were equally failing; and that after a long period of ill fortune, Fox's star was likely to be in the ascendant. In the course of the negotiations which followed, Pitt did everything in his power to satisfy the Whig party. He offered to arrange personally with Fox respecting such of his friends as he chose to nominate, but the meeting was declined. He offered any post in the whole diplomatic service to Fox himself; or if this was not acceptable, he was willing to engage a Cabinet place after a short interval, trusting that the King's prejudices would soften down when the violence of the Opposition ceased. But it was useless; the Whigs, one and all, resolved to share the present exclusion of their leader.

Pitt was, therefore, left with only Dundas (now Lord Melville) and the wreck of the late Administration; whereas he had calculated on reconciling party differences, and combining with himself all the available talent of the country. The task of forming a stable Government out of such materials seemed, even to himself, almost hopeless; but his stern pride was roused, and bore down

irresistibly his better judgment. In vain Canning besought him to pause before so much as a single appointment was made out. Rose, taking the other point of view, and thinking less of the efficiency of a Government of which William Pitt was to be the head, doubted seriously its ability to carry its measures in the face of the new Opposition. His calculations of favourable and adverse votes, thrown into several forms, all showed a doubtful result; but they had no effect on Pitt. He was especially roused by the conduct of Lord Grenville, and declared he would 'teach that proud man he could do without him, if it cost him his life,'—a declaration unhappily fulfilled to the letter. In these circumstances the burden of the new Government fell almost exclusively on the Prime Minister. Not only the Treasury and Exchequer, which were avowedly his own departments, but the War Office, and the Foreign Office, each looked upon him as its real head; while his help was frequently required at the Admiralty, and even at the Horse Guards! In Parliament he had to bear the brunt of the conflict almost alone, whereas the Opposition mustered in most formidable strength, and it was clear that the day of large majorities and undisputed command had gone by. The hostile feeling of the Opposition soon showed itself in the impeachment of Lord Melville, Pitt's tried friend, and now his most valued coadjutor. The numbers when announced were equal,—two hundred and sixteen to two hundred and sixteen. After an awful pause—some ten minutes—the Speaker, looking as white as a sheet, amidst the silence of the House, gave the casting vote against Ministers. The House instantly rang with wild shouts and cries, and broke up in disorder. A slight figure was seen to rise, jam his little cocked hat well over his eyebrows, and, without speaking to any one, walk half unconsciously towards the door, like one stunned by a blow. Two or three coarse men, heated with wine, staggered across the floor to see 'how Billy looked after it;' but a body of his admirers, with their arms securely locked, forming a circle round the Minister, kept off all intruders. That must have been a bitter moment when, for the first time, Samson found that his strength had departed from him.

Disasters now followed fast. The alliance between Russia, Austria, and England, was Pitt's principal work during 1805; and not only the negotiations, but the plan of action, he for the most part arranged himself. It was determined to place half a million of men in the field, and to crush Napoleon by the sheer weight of the allied armaments. No plans could have been more perfect, and no hopes could have been, to all appearance, more securely founded. But these plans, so carefully elaborated by the several courts, halted there, instead of being promptly car-

ried out in the field. Buonaparte anticipated the combination, well as the secret had been kept. Long before the Prussian army reached its own frontier, he, by a succession of rapid movements, surrounded the entire Austrian army, and the tidings which reached London were, not the destruction of Napoleon's power, but the disastrous capitulation of Ulm. Pitt persuaded himself that the news was false, and took great pains to prove it so. But on Sunday, the 3rd of November, a Dutch newspaper arrived with the official account of the transaction. The public offices being closed, he brought it to his friend Lord Malmesbury for translation. 'I observed,' writes the old diplomatist, 'but too clearly the effect it had on Pitt, though he did his utmost to conceal it. This was the last time I saw him. The visit has left an indelible impression on my mind, as his manner and look were not his own, and gave me, in spite of myself, a foreboding of the loss with which we were threatened.' Some short-lived hopes of Prussia's joining the confederacy were at this time dispersed, and served to deepen the general gloom; while the news of Nelson's victory at Trafalgar was almost counterbalanced by the news of Nelson's death. In December, Pitt went to Bath in order to drink the waters, from which he had so often derived benefit, but was there seized with an unusually violent attack of gout. In the midst of his sufferings and great depression of mind, came the tidings of the battle of Austerlitz,—a crushing blow in itself, and, to his far-seeing eye, the precursor of still greater evils. One combination had failed after another; he had gathered up his energies for one final effort, and that had failed like the rest; the power whom he had resolved to humble had humbled *him*, and his proud spirit was utterly broken. Early in January he returned to Putney by easy stages, with a view to the approaching meeting of Parliament; but the physical prostration increased, he could take no food, he was emaciated past recognition, and his constitution showed no signs whatever of rallying. The physicians, nevertheless, would not admit that there was serious danger until the evening of the twentieth, when they became alarmed, and besought his friend the Bishop of Lincoln to break the truth to him, which he seemed so little to suspect. On the twenty-third he died—died, his physicians declared, of *old age* at forty-six, as truly as if he had been ninety,—died a lonely and forsaken man. For of all those whom he had befriended,—upon whom he had bestowed places, pensions, ribbons, peerages, un hoped-for honours, and princely revenues,—of all those whom he had admitted to the intimacy of a close companionship, and to whom his life had been one long act of kindness, not one was present to say farewell, or pay the tribute

of a decent sorrow. His death cast a gloom over the whole country, and for a time materially disturbed the selfish current of city life. A public funeral was decreed, in which the public were true mourners, and had good reason to feel their loss. His remains lie buried in Westminster Abbey, near those of his father Chatham, his opponent Fox, and his friends Wilberforce and Canning.

We have now sketched, briefly and very imperfectly, the life of our great English statesman, *the Englishman par excellence*. M. Thiers speaks of him as *ce pur Anglais*,—a designation which, from the pen of a French historian, is not less significant than the plaudits of an admiring Senate, or even the lamentations of a bereaved nation. During twenty-three years he centred on himself the eyes of all Europe; he won the love of one nation, the fear of another, and the hopes of all the rest. His power during that time was unlimited. The resources of the wealthiest country the world has yet seen, were placed freely in his hand. He ruled the people, the legislature, and the King. He was Dictator in all but the name. Yet he ruled justly, not abusing his power; and though he had many enemies, both open and secret, his fame has never been stained by the record of one vindictive act. We do not say that he was faultless, but his errors were those of judgment, not laxity of principle. Some of the charges brought against him are simply absurd. He, the friend of Wilberforce, is accused of abetting the Slave-Trade. The very champion of the Constitution, he has again and again been charged with wanton attacks upon it,—with breaking down its safeguards, and destroying its purity. A staunch adherent of the Church of England, he is said to have favoured Popery, and aided its attacks on the Church and the Crown. He is accused of lending himself to the war party in 1793, for the sake of power and popularity, when, by throwing his vast influence into the other scale, he might successfully have maintained peace. This, too, is folly. It was a war of necessity; for it was a war of principles utterly antagonistic. Buonaparte knew perfectly that the struggle was one for existence on either side, and in a candid moment confessed that 'the Kingdom of Great Britain and the French Republic could not exist together.' Pitt entered upon the war, as we have seen, most unwillingly; and he repeatedly sought to put an end to it. During the negotiations of 1796, and again in 1797, the King congratulated himself that the business was in the hands of Lord Malmesbury, and not of the Minister, 'who would have begun by yielding up everything.' As it was, the instructions to the envoy were so extremely liberal, that by many Pitt was considered to have

literally surrendered everything, and furious were the attacks made upon him in consequence. He stands charged with being at once too fond of war, and too eager for peace,—a tolerably good proof that he did not go to an extreme in either direction. Lord Macaulay has treated Pitt on the whole generously, but here and there he deals a deadly thrust. He says that war, if made at all, should have been made on a gigantic scale, whereas Pitt's 'military administration was that of a driveller.' That his expeditions and combinations failed, is no more than must be said of every other nation which came in contact with the soldiers of Napoleon. If the power of great military nations utterly collapsed, it was no disgrace that the small expeditionary forces of a non-military nation were unsuccessful. That he could reconcile the conflicting views of rival empires, allay mutual jealousies and irritations, and again and again bring the enormous forces of the allies into the field, well provided and equipped, was proof rather of a skilful administrator than of a mere 'driveller.' Woronzow, the Russian Ambassador, thought very differently of him. When the war broke out after the Peace of Amiens, Woronzow, being very ill, and thinking himself dying, wrote a secret letter to George III., beseeching him, in the most affecting terms, to recall Mr. Pitt to power,—'not that he felt any partiality for him personally, but that no other man was fit to guide the State in a time of so much emergency.' Buonaparte had the same high opinion of him, and regarded his dismissal from office in 1801 as a proof of the King's derangement. And when Sir Samuel Romilly visited Paris during the peace, he found that the French held him in extraordinary reverence, and attributed to his talents alone the fact that England had escaped a revolution similar to their own.

It has been objected, that after so long a lease of power, Mr. Pitt has left behind him no legislation from which posterity will benefit. But with three out of the five great political changes of modern times, his name must ever be associated,—Reform, the Union, and the Abolition of the Slave Trade. As regards Reform, he was confined by circumstances to the department of finance; but the services he here rendered to the country have never been appreciated at their true value:—reform of the representation occupied his thoughts, and some practical measure would have resulted, had not all his plans been frustrated by the war. In like manner the Union, as eventually carried out, was but a mutilation of his original design; although, imperfect as it was, it raised the position of Ireland incalculably, and prepared the way for those ameliorations which have since followed, though so tardily. Mr. Pitt's share in the Abolition of the Slave Trade must also be placed to



his credit as a public benefactor. It was by his counsels and his influence, that, in the early stages of the movement, its friends were able to make any headway against the strong opposition which met them in Parliament. Whenever or however occupied, the Minister could always spare time for the discussion of any new phase of the question; and such changes were frequent, and involved new expedients, in which he was always fertile. So deeply was he committed to the question, that when Wilberforce was taken seriously ill, and was pronounced to be in a dying state, it was to Pitt that he looked to take his place; and he obtained a promise from him to that effect. For nearly a year he took the direction of the entire movement, until his friend had sufficiently recovered to resume his post. He passed an Act for preventing overcrowding in British slave ships, although the Bill was opposed in every stage, and required two months to get it through both Houses. He refused to allow the introduction of slavery into the islands of St. Vincent's and Trinidad, though beset on all sides, 'assailed by sap and by storm,' and though his obstinacy offended a powerful interest, and alienated many of his supporters. It was on the slave question that he made what was, by universal testimony, the most splendid of all his orations. No epithets are too extravagant to describe its effect on a House surfeited, as we might suppose, with nightly displays of eloquence, and callous to all such influences, yet which broke up as by an uncontrollable impulse, so soon as the silvery voice ceased, and the spell was broken. Among the legislative measures by which posterity has benefited, is one which places the liberty of the press under the protection of the jury. Nor must the Quebec Bill be forgotten, which accorded the free institutions of England to the two Canadas. It was a most successful experiment in a new direction,—the first of that long series of liberal enactments which have since given to our colonies all over the world the boon of self-government, with no heavier burden imposed by the mother country than the weight of her wise counsels and ripe experience.

Opinions may differ upon Mr. Pitt's character as a statesman; personally he left no room, we will not say for censure, but for criticism,—save in the neglect of his own interests. He might have rolled in wealth; he died not only poor, but £40,000 in debt. It must be said in extenuation, that this was not the result of extravagance, but of want of control over his affairs, by reason of more pressing public duties. No other charge can be brought against him. In an age of impurity he was pure; in the midst of speculation his hands were clean. This was the true basis of his power,—of the boundless confidence

reposed in him. He raised the finances, the commerce, the material prosperity of the nation to an unparalleled height; but he also elicited the public spirit, and made the nation respect itself; and the *moral* tone which he thus infused into the country was quite as remarkable a phenomenon as any material change effected during his Administration. His own courage was unbounded. No misfortune, no disaster could daunt him for a moment, or lower his haughty confidence: at the worst it deferred success, nothing more. There was a characteristic grandeur about his views of the country which he idolized. He declared to Lord Malmesbury that England was in a position to 'submit to no insult, nor suffer any injury,' and was asked to define 'insults' and 'injuries.' '*Acts,*' said he, '*which may affect, either immediately, or in their consequences, the dignity, honour, safety, or real greatness of the country.*' His forgetfulness of self was most remarkable. His conversation, his correspondence were all of the nation. It was this Measure, or that Impost, or news from the Continent, or the state of Ireland, or the health of the King. Wilberforce, who was wondrously impartial in his estimates of character, was convinced, after 'long experience and close observation, that in order to benefit his country, he would give up, not situation merely, and emolument, but what in his case was much more, personal credit and reputation, though he knew that no human being would ever become acquainted with the sacrifice he made, and record the patriotic gift in the pages of history.' We have seen how the strifes of party left no bitterness behind them in his noble spirit. He could again and again approach Fox with the most friendly feeling, and declare that he had nothing of a painful nature to forget. This true nobility showed itself to the last, unimpaired by the rough usage of a long political life. When Addington, who by secret intrigues had wrought him much mischief, damaging his reputation both with the country and the King, was taken dangerously ill, Pitt laid everything aside, and, with all imaginable kindness, visited and consoled him. Lord Wellesley says, 'He was a most affectionate, indulgent, and benevolent friend, and so easy of access that all his acquaintance in any embarrassment would rather resort to him for advice than to any person who might be supposed to have more leisure.' Mr. Rose, who was not only intimate with him throughout his whole career, but, from working with him in the same department, saw him under the most unfavourable circumstances, declares that his temper was 'the sweetest he ever knew;' and, referring to their intercourse of more than twenty years, he writes;—'I can say with the sincerest truth that I

never saw him once out of temper, nor did ever one unpleasant sentence pass between us.' Let us remember the nature of the burdens that lay upon him, and the mortifying disappointments to which the life of a statesman is subject, and which more than anything chafe the mind,—and then let any one of us look back upon our warmest and purest friendships, and draw a mental contrast, before we sound the depths of this man's nature, and estimate the meaning which these words convey.

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ART. VII.—1. *Cotton, as an Element of Industry: its confined Supply, and its extended Consumption by increasing and improving Agencies. A Lecture delivered before the Society of Arts.* By THOMAS BAZLEY, Esq. Longmans. 1852.

2. *Cotton: its Cultivation, Manufacture, and Uses.* By HENRY ASHWORTH, Esq. Manchester: Collins. 1858.

3. *A Handbook of the Cotton Trade.* By THOMAS ELLISON. Longmans. 1858.

4. *The Cotton Trade of Great Britain.* By JAMES A. MANN, F.S.S. Simpkins. 1860.

5. *The Cotton Supply Reporter.* 1858–60.

THE *Annual Register* for 1760 chronicles the subjugation of Canada, the return of Clive from India, and the progress of the Bridgewater Canal. 'There is now carrying on in Lancashire by the Duke of Bridgewater, a navigable canal to bring coals to Manchester and other places from the neighbourhood of Leigh, which when finished will be the most extraordinary thing in the kingdom, if not in Europe. The boats in some places are to go underground, and in another place over a navigable river, without communicating with its waters; and there the canal is to be supported by great arches, now almost finished.' This paragraph, probably of less interest to the reader of the day than the prolific birth and the extraordinary case of longevity which immediately precede it, is worthy the attention not merely of the engineer or statish, but of every one who studies history through passing events. It not only commemorates the genius of Brindley and the keen foresight of his ducal employer, but also records the first of those marvellous inventions which, called into existence by the requirements of the cotton trade, have effected the greatest revolution which English society ever witnessed. A manufacture then of the annual value of £600,000, employing 16,000 persons at a low rate of wages, now absorbs a capital computed at seventy

millions sterling, and distributes ten millions and a half as yearly wages. The population of Lancashire in 1751 was estimated to be under 300,000; the marriages in Manchester and Liverpool were barely 650; and the uncouthness of the inhabitants, the Saxon barbarisms which rendered their dialect unintelligible, the difficulty of transit, and the unproductiveness of the country, were noted by every topographer.

'Cotton goods,' a mixture of linen and wool, were manufactured in Lancashire prior to 1641; but they do not appear to have entered into competition with the woollen manufacture, which had long been the staple of English industry. As the simplest means of handicraft were employed, yarns suitable for heavy goods were the sole production of this country, while a marvellous delicacy of touch enabled the Hindoo to manufacture muslins which excited the jealousy and alarm of Europe, and were prohibited in 1700. (11 & 12 Wm. III., c. 10.)\*

The import of cotton, principally from the Levant, in 1701-5, averaged 1,170,880lbs., the greater portion being used, if we may credit a somewhat doubtful authority, in the manufacture of candlewicks; in 1741, 1,645,031lbs. were imported, and the official value of our cotton export, after many fluctuations, amounted to £20,709; nine years later, although our foreign trade had doubled, France imported nearly a million pounds more cotton than ourselves,—a clear proof that the manufacture was not gaining ground in this country as compared with continental nations. The almost unbroken peace which prevailed for twenty years of Sir Robert Walpole's administration, conferred a large amount of prosperity; and probably the successes of the war, directed by the genius of the 'Great Commoner,' gave additional impetus to trade. Commercial history in our own day shows that a period of war with an eastern or barbarous nation, is often followed, if not accompanied, by commercial activity; and the results of the conquests of India and Canada find a parallel in the experience of our Chinese and Indian merchants. Inventive industry had already begun to supersede the machinery which had been in use since the days

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\* In 1788 a pamphlet was published, entitled, 'An Important Crisis in the Cotton and Muslin Manufactory in Great Britain explained;' the purport of which was 'to warn the nation of the bad consequences which would result from the rivalry of East India cotton goods, which then began to be pouring into the markets in increased quantities and at diminished prices.'—*Aikin's Manchester*. In 1792, a public meeting of the trade resolved that 'British manufacturers were exposed to continual danger and immense losses by the importation of muslin and cotton goods from the East Indies;' and that application for protection be made to Parliament; a Committee, including Arkwright, Strutt, Greg, Ainsworth, and other well known names, being appointed to conduct the application.

of the Flemings; the fly shuttle of John Kay of Bury was almost universally adopted, and largely increased the facility of weaving; other improvements followed; the weavers found it difficult to obtain weft; and the trade advanced at an unprecedented rate,—the import of cotton in 1764 being 3,870,392lbs., and the exports £200,354. The invention of the spinning jenny, claimed by Higs and by Hargreaves, but patented by the latter in 1770, still further increased the producing power; but it was not until the introduction of Arkwright's patent that linen yarn could be dispensed with. 'Turkey red' dyeing was introduced into Lancashire in 1762; bleaching the year after; and cotton printing followed in 1764. To these successes of mechanical skill and chemical science must be added the 'mule' of Samuel Crompton in 1779; and the steam-engine of Watt, first introduced into Manchester in 1795. A host of minor inventions and improvements,—the most important being the application of Cartwright's powerloom in 1801,—have increased the fineness of the fabric, the rapidity of machinery, and the profit or wages of the employed. Among collateral facilities for increased production, we may name lighting by gas, first introduced on a large scale into the mills of Philips and Lee, in Salford; 'the Duke's' canal giving the advantages of cheap coal and improved transit.\* The ground which had witnessed the success of Brindley was destined to be the battle-field of Stephenson's energy and skill; and the removal of commercial restrictions, so zealously advocated in Lancashire, has since then largely increased the demand on her manufacturing power. The following table gives a number of details which more fully show the increase of the cotton trade, and its effect on population:—

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\* When the Bridgewater canal was opened, the price of carriage by land from Manchester to Liverpool was 40s. per ton, and by water 12s., the Duke's boats carrying for 6s. The success of this great work was followed by other undertakings, the earlier being superintended by Brindley:—

Name of Canal.	Act obtained in
Trent and Mersey.....	1766
Grand Trunk.....	1766
Leeds and Liverpool.....	1770
Chesterfield.....	1770
Chester.....	1772
Manchester, Bolton, and Bury.....	1791
Manchester, Ashton, and Oldham.....	1792
Manchester and Rochdale.....	1794

	Raw Cotton Imported in the Avondupois.	Cotton Goods exported in £ sterling Official Value.	Value of Cotton Manu- factures computed in £ sterling.	Number of Persons com- puted to be employed.	Population.	
					Manchester and Salford.	Liverpool.
1697	1,976,359	5,915	—	—	—	5,000
1701	1,985,868	23,253	—	—	—	—
1710	715,008	5,698	—	—	—	—
1720	1,972,805	16,200	—	—	—	—
1730	1,545,472	13,524	—	—	—	12,074
1741	1,645,031	20,709	—	—	—	—
1751	2,976,610	45,986	—	—	—	—
1764	3,870,392	200,354	(1760) 600,000	16,924	19,839 (1786)	25,787 (1760)
	Cotton con- sumed in Great Britain					
1785*	17,992,888	864,710	(1787) 3,304,371	—	42,821 (1788)	—
1790	30,603,457	1,662,369	—	—	—	55,732
1800	51,594,122	5,854,057	—	26,929	109,166	77,708
1810	123,701,826	18,951,994	—	44,863	132,099	94,396
		Declared Value				
1820	152,820,633	16,533,754	—	68,257	180,948	118,972
1830	269,616,640	19,418,885	(1833) 31,338,693	210,797†	261,584	165,221
1840	528,142,743	24,654,293	49,616,655	—	339,734	228,003
1850	588,200,000	28,257,401	45,826,992	330,924‡	439,797	258,346
1856	891,400,000	38,232,741	57,074,852	370,213‡	—	—
1859	976,600,000	48,208,444	71,373,214	—	—	—

The benefits of such a trade have not been confined to the capitalist. Without referring to the relations between master and operative, which, notwithstanding occasional outbreaks of tyranny or jealousy, have been greatly improved, or claiming for the manufacturer any credit for the conscientious manner in which he generally discharges the duties of his position, it may be sufficient to refer to the comparative rate of wages, bearing in mind the reduced value of the necessaries of life. Baines's *History of the Cotton Manufacture* contains tables of wages from 1801 to 1834, which conclusively show the improved condition of the operative; and Mr. David Chadwick, whose paper on the

\* The year when Arkwright's patent was declared void.

† In addition to those employed in factories, the handloom weavers were estimated at 250,000.

‡ Parliamentary Returns. Each factory worker is considered to represent three non-workers.

The cotton imported in 1787 is estimated to be employed as follows:—

	lbs.
Calicoes and Muslins .....	11,600,000
Fustians .....	6,000,000
Mixed Silk and Linen .....	2,000,000
Hosiery .....	1,500,000
Candlewicks .....	1,500,000

Total ..... 22,600,000



*Rate of Wages in Manchester and Salford* commences with 1839, states that 'the wages of all classes of factory operatives appear to have increased from 10 to 25 per cent. during the last twenty years.' The price of cotton goods has diminished in proportion to their increased manufacture. In 1776 'two common fine calico pieces' were sold for £5 9s. 8d.; and a wedding-dress of calico known to have been purchased a few years later at 6s. a yard, could now be procured for 2½d. Cotton is more conducive to health and cleanliness than any other manufacture, and the comfort of the people is materially affected by its cheapness; it combines warmth with durability, is capable of being brought to the highest degree of perfection which textiles admit, and for dyeing or printing is found more serviceable than any other material. It has long been used in linen and woollen cloths, in the latter case reducing the value by two-thirds; for some time it has been introduced into ribbons, and it has recently been found possible to combine it with wool in the manufacture of blankets. The natural consequence has been a large relative increase in its import.

PER-CENTAGE OF RAW TEXTILES IMPORTED INTO THE UNITED KINGDOM.

	1821.	1831.	1841.	1851.	1859.
Cotton .....	·56	·58	·63	·67	·69
Flax .....	·18	·22	·195	·12	·092
Hemp .....	·21	·12	·09	·07	·08
Wool .....	·04	·07	·07	·08	·07
Silk .....	·01	·009	·006	·006	·008
Jute .....	no return	·001	·009	·054	·06

The trade, formerly limited to Manchester and Bolton, has gradually spread through the north-eastern part of the county, and into the contiguous districts of Cheshire and Derbyshire. Each town—representing, in addition to its own population, villages whose inhabitants are numbered by thousands—has some distinctive manufacture. At Blackburn and Preston are made 'shirtings,' and 'madapollams' for India and China; at Bolton, dimities and 'mediums;' at Oldham, fustians; at Ashton and Glossop, 'printers;' while Manchester produces the finer descriptions of yarn suitable for Bradford, Nottingham, and Glasgow. The indirect benefits of this trade are felt throughout the kingdom, and largely affect other branches of manufacturing industry. Cotton yarn enters into one third

of our woollen exports. It has taken the place of linen in the carpet trade; it supplies annually nearly 1,000,000 lbs. for hosiery and the lace of Nottingham, a trade formerly unknown; and has a yearly consumption equivalent in money value to £1,500,000. It is employed, though more sparingly, in fabrics of silk and flax; and the factories engaged in all these various branches in 1856 employed 303,284 persons. It is hardly necessary to allude to the demand which it makes on the colliery and the shipowner, and on the production of iron, which fell from 180,000 tons in 1615 to 17,350 in 1740, but exceeded 4,500,000 tons in 1859.

Having thus endeavoured to indicate the importance which cotton manufactures possess, it may be difficult, without an appearance of exaggeration, to convey an idea of the irreparable loss which would be entailed by a deficient supply of the raw material. Such a deficiency involves an increased price; but an advance of 1*d.* per lb. entails an annual loss on the consumer of FOUR MILLIONS STERLING; and this rise, by no means unusual under the ordinary variations of trade, would be considerably enhanced by the prospect of a real or imaginary scarcity.\* While the greater part of this loss must fall on the manufacturer, his liability does not end here. His machinery would deteriorate unless kept in working order; rent, taxes, interest of capital, and fixed expenses, have still to be provided for; while a cessation of business implies a loss of wages and diminution of savings to the operative and the shopkeeper. The railway company, the shipowner, and every one supplying material, are affected by diminished business and increased taxes.

The earliest supplies of the raw material were, as already mentioned, procured from the Levant; but, from 1778 to the close of the century, the largest import was derived from the West India Islands and Guiana,—the Dutch produce being considered the most valuable. Notwithstanding the growth of the manufacture, the supply appears to have kept pace with the demand; and in 1782 we find that with cotton at 3*1d.* per lb., a panic arose in Manchester, the import having amounted to 1,400,000lbs. in four months. A few years later Brazilian cotton—now one of the most valuable qualities—was imported, but in a very dirty condition. East Indian was brought in small and fluctuating quantities from 1783 to 1798; after the latter date it gradually increased, and now supplies a considerable portion of the trade.

\* Omitting minor variations, the annual average price of United States uplands' cotton has been quoted as follows:—

1834. 1835. 1837. 1839. 1840. 1843. 1847. 1848. 1849. 1850. 1851. 1857. 1858.  
8½ 10½ 7 7½ 6 4½ 6½ 4½ 5½ 7½ 5½ 7½ 6½

## Imports.

## COTTON IMPORTED INTO THE UNITED KINGDOM, IN LBS. WEIGHT.

|      | United States. | Brazil.    | Turkey,<br>Smyrna, and<br>Kedivehistan.* | British East<br>Indies† | British West<br>Indies. | French and<br>Spanish Colonies. | Dutch<br>Colonies. | Other<br>Countries. | Total.        |
|------|----------------|------------|--|-------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------------|
| 1788 | —              | 2,000,000  | 5,000,000                                | —                       | 5,800,000               | 5,500,000                       | 1,600,000          | —                   | 19,900,000    |
| 1820 | 89,989,174     | 29,198,155 | 472,684                                  | 23,125,825              | 6,836,816               | —                               | —                  | 2,040,001           | 151,672,655   |
| 1830 | 210,885,358    | 33,092,072 | 3,428,798                                | 12,481,761              | 3,429,247               | —                               | —                  | 644,216             | 263,961,452   |
| 1840 | 487,866,504    | 14,770,171 | 8,324,937                                | 77,011,839              | 866,137                 | —                               | —                  | 3,649,402           | 592,488,010   |
| 1850 | 493,133,112    | 30,299,982 | 18,931,414                               | 118,872,742             | 228,913                 | —                               | —                  | 2,090,698           | 663,576,861   |
| 1859 | 961,707,264    | 22,478,960 | 38,106,096                               | 192,330,880             | 592,256                 | —                               | —                  | 10,773,616          | 1,225,989,072 |

or, adopting the averages made by Mr. Mann, we have the following per-centage:—

|        | —  | 10 | 25 | —  | 29 | 28 | 08 | —  | — |
|--------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1788   | —  | 10 | 25 | —  | 29 | 28 | 08 | —  | — |
| 1800   | —  | 15 | —  | 26 | 08 | —  | —  | 03 | — |
| 1815-9 | 46 | 15 | —  | 09 | 05 | —  | —  | 01 | — |
| 1820-4 | 08 | 15 | 02 | 09 | 03 | —  | —  | 01 | — |
| 1825-9 | 70 | 11 | 05 | 10 | 03 | —  | —  | 01 | — |
| 1830-4 | 79 | 09 | 02 | 09 | 01 | —  | —  | 01 | — |
| 1835-9 | 79 | 06 | 02 | 12 | —  | —  | —  | 01 | — |
| 1840-4 | 81 | 03 | 01 | 14 | —  | —  | —  | 01 | — |
| 1845-9 | 84 | 03 | 02 | 11 | —  | —  | —  | —  | — |
| 1850-4 | 78 | 03 | 03 | 16 | —  | —  | —  | —  | — |
| 1855-9 | 76 | 02 | 03 | 18 | —  | —  | —  | 01 | — |

\* The 'first recorded' import of cotton from Egypt occurred in 1833, and rose in two years to nearly 23,000,000 lbs.; but, in consequence of the vicissitudes to which most Eastern countries are liable, it sank to one half in the following year.

† No large import of East Indian cotton took place until 1798; the total import for the previous fifteen years being under half a million pounds.

For the last forty years, therefore,—in fact, ever since reliable statistics can be procured,—we have been dependent upon the United States and the East Indies for that raw material on a plentiful supply of which so much of our national prosperity depends; and the use of American cotton in nearly all description of goods practically reduces us to one prop. Indian or 'Surat' cotton is unsuited to many manufactures, and is chiefly used for adulteration, or for coarse fabrics. Any calculation of the stock or prospects of the cotton crop is based exclusively on the accounts of American brokers; and the rumour of a severe frost is sufficient to cause an advance in the value of the whole stock on hand. Nor can this be wondered at, while American cotton is only cultivated on four million acres, or about the area of Yorkshire; and while the plantations, although widely scattered, are all liable to be equally affected by sudden change of temperature. The tender nature of the plant, the shortness of the season, and the occasional severity of the weather render the supply precarious; and if the harvest escape 'killing frosts,' it is liable to the ravages of caterpillars, wireworms, and blight. The increase of price cost in 1859 *nine millions and a half sterling*, and this additional cost for the last fourteen years amounts to FIFTY-SIX MILLIONS! The accuracy of this statement may be admitted when it is understood that 4½d. per lb. in Liverpool, would leave the planter a fair profit, and the average price from 1847-60 has been 6d. per lb.

To any who may imagine that motives of self-interest would prove a safeguard for national tranquillity, another inquiry of not less importance may be addressed. Are the Slave States of America capable of producing a crop of cotton sufficient for the increasing requirements of the world? The demand for cotton has increased among foreign nations also, and America consumes six-fold the quantity which she required thirty years ago:—

PER-CENTAGE OF COTTON EXPORTED FROM THE UNITED STATES.

| Average of Years. | Great Britain. | France. | Other Countries. |
|-------------------|----------------|---------|------------------|
| 1826-30           | ·71            | ·23     | ·06              |
| 1830-35           | ·73            | ·22     | ·05              |
| 1835-40           | ·71            | ·22     | ·07              |
| 1840-45           | ·70            | ·20     | ·10              |
| 1845-50           | ·69            | ·17     | ·14              |
| 1850-55           | ·69            | ·17     | ·14              |
| 1855-59           | ·66            | ·16     | ·18              |

That the price of cotton has been most remunerative is proved by the increased area annually sown with cotton to the exclusion of other articles of Southern produce, and by the increase of the slave population in cotton-growing States.\* But, in spite of every inducement, the average crop of America from 1855-9 has barely kept pace with the export of British yarn and cotton has advanced nearly 34 per cent.; and a reference to a preceding table shows that the proportion of American cotton to our total consumption is gradually declining. In those States where it was originally grown, the produce of such cotton per acre varies from 250 to 320 lbs.; and during the last two years the cultivation has advanced from 10 to 35 per cent., while in the districts more recently reclaimed the production is estimated at between 500 and 750 lbs. per acre, and has more than doubled. There is every reason to believe that while immense tracts of suitable land remain uncultivated, the drain of slave labour from the older States and its application to cotton-planting has nearly reached its limit, and that the slow though steady increase of the Negro population ('2½ to 3½ per cent. during the last sixty years') will no longer furnish an additional supply. The possibility of white labour being made available has been frequently argued; and by the more ardent friends of the anti-slavery cause the employment of German labourers in Texas has been hailed as a solution of the problem. Although under certain favourable but exceptionable circumstances white labour may be partially employed, the more recent accounts speak but indifferently of the operations in Texas; and on the Jamaica slopes, 2000 feet above the level of the sea, an European cannot labour continuously.

With the exception of the East Indian crop, our other sources of supply, stated by Mr. Ashworth at more than thirty, no longer furnish any material quantity. The Levant does not send to this country more than 250,000 to 300,000 lbs.; and the deficiency arises from increased manufactures among the natives, the shipment of the great bulk of the export to Marseilles for French consumption, and the utter decay of the Turkish executive. From Naples, Sicily, and Malta, we derive annually from 20,000,000 to 40,000,000 lbs.

Egyptian cotton, formerly of very inferior quality, was raised to a high degree of excellence under the able administration of Mohammed Ali. The result of the first crop in 1821-22

\* Increase of the slave population in cotton-producing States, 1830-50...37 per cent.  
Ditto, States not producing cotton, 1830-50 .....23 ..

amounted to 94,640 lbs., and the exports to foreign countries show a rapid increase.

|                       | lbs.       |
|-----------------------|------------|
| 1821 .....            | 88,396     |
| 1822 .....            | 3,300,152  |
| 1823 .....            | 14,986,044 |
| 1824 .....            | 21,439,333 |
| 1828-34 average ..... | 12,892,724 |
| 1835-41 .....         | 20,116,564 |
| 1842-48 .....         | 20,813,010 |
| 1849-59 .....         | 44,488,508 |

In 1826, the quality was further improved by the introduction of Sea Island seed; the ancient canals with which Egypt, like India, abounds, were re-opened for irrigation, and from 1843 one half of the available land has been under cultivation.

In seventeen British settlements of the West Indies, the crop has diminished from a variety of causes. The first disarrangement was inflicted by the reduction by one half of the duty on foreign cotton in 1833, the Emancipation Act taking effect in the following year. The greater profit on sugar has caused a neglect of cotton even in islands like Barbadoes, which has always retained a comparative prosperity; but the present obstacles arise from a want of capital and labour, and this applies also to all our West India Colonies.

Brazil is somewhat similarly situated. The greater profit of coffee and sugar, and, according to some, the difficulty of growing cotton near the coast, have made its exports stationary; though the present trade and national prosperity are largely on the increase.

The proportion of East Indian cotton to the total consumption in this country, taken in quinquennial averages, amounted in 1815-19 to 20 per cent.; from the great reduction in price it remained from 1820 to 1835 at 9; it rose in 1840-4 to 14; the low rates of 1845-9 reduced it to 11, and in the last few years it has reached 18. These fluctuations have been marked by a corresponding trade to China, which has taken up the surplus arising from a smaller export to England.

In 1851, the Manchester Chamber of Commerce sent out Mr. Mackay, to report on the cotton districts of Bombay and Madras; but his premature death put a stop to any organized effort. In 1852-55, the American crop proved abundant; but a deficiency in 1857 was followed by an advance; a large trade, afterwards proved to have been swelled by speculation, increased the evil; the stock of



cotton, only eight weeks' consumption at the beginning of the year, was not expected to last until its close; and before the panic burst in New York, 'middling' Orleans was quoted in Liverpool at 9½*d.* per lb. Public attention was aroused to better purpose than on former occasions, and the Cotton Supply Association was formed on the 19th of June in that year. In a speech pre-eminently distinguished by its clear and comprehensive tone, Lord Stanley sketched the dangers to which the trade was exposed, from the inefficiency and precarious nature of the supply; and alluded to India as the most promising field for the early labours of the Association. Inquiries were addressed, in many cases through the Foreign Office, to persons in every suitable locality, to ascertain whether cotton was found either in an indigenous or exotic state—whether as an annual or perennial—how far the soil and climate were favourable—if irrigation was used—whether any obstacle to its cultivation existed—by what means the cotton was cleaned, and to what purpose applied—and if good seed would be required. An immense number of communications (two thousand in one year) has been the result of these inquiries, mostly giving a favourable reply, but specifying difficulties which will shortly come under our notice. The proceedings of the Association are thus given in their Third Annual Report (May, 1860):—Of £4519 annual income, £876 has been expended in cotton seed; £909 in freight, and £2228 in the purchase of machinery, a considerable portion of which has been resold; 591 barrels of cotton seed, sufficient to plant many thousand acres, have been distributed, in quantities ranging from a few pounds to five tons, in India, Australia, Honduras, the West Indies, South America, West Africa, Natal, the Turkish Empire, &c. 254 gins for cleaning cotton, and other machinery, have been sent out; care having been taken, by the offer of a prize to the manufacturer, to obtain the most efficient article. Official communication has been entered into with two hundred persons holding public positions in India, and to each has been forwarded 'a sample of American cotton, with a photograph of the relative length of the market varieties, for exhibition in the bazaar, and as a guide for cultivation by the natives.' A museum of various descriptions of cotton has been formed; and fifty thousand copies of the '*Cotton Supply Register*' and other publications have been distributed. At Liberia, gold and silver medals and other prizes amounting to £25 have been offered for the 'most successful cultivator in that republic.' Cotton companies are in course of formation in Cuba, South America, Texas, Australia, and elsewhere; but the Directors of the Association, though often appealed to, have declined as a body to

become connected with any of these undertakings, 'as incompatible with the duties which they have to discharge.' Indirectly a stimulus has been given to the production of America, and the import of free-grown cotton.

The desideratum of the English market is a supply of FIVE HUNDRED MILLION POUNDS of cotton equal to the quality of middling 'American;' the lower descriptions, such as that produced in India, being unfitted for many manufactures, and, from the quantity of 'waste' or refuse mixed with it, relatively much dearer. To obtain this, several points are essential,—climate, quality of soil, and improved machinery. Cotton, whether annual or perennial, will grow on every kind of soil, from light gravel to stiff clay, between 35° N. and 30° S., or in favoured situations a little beyond these latitudes. Indigenous cotton of good quality flourishes only in a climate impregnated with saline matter: hence the eastern coasts of any country yield the best supply, in consequence of the effect of the trade wind on the plant. The finest quality of 'Sea Islands' is, as the name implies, grown on islands on the coast, scarcely elevated above the level of the sea; the same article transplanted into the interior is known as 'upland,' and deteriorates three-fourths in value. In America, India, Egypt, and the West Coast of Africa the plant is an annual. Although there are perennial varieties, they scarcely merit attention. In South America, the Pacific Islands, and some parts of the West Indies and Central Africa, a perennial plant furnishes the crop. No description of cotton has yet been met with which is not available for some manufacture. A large portion of seed is always mixed with the cotton as gathered; the proportion of weight being in American and African cotton two pounds of seed to one of cotton; in Indian, three of seed to one of clean material. To separate the seed, an instrument of the simplest construction is used in India, by means of which a ton of cotton can be cleaned in a day by 750 persons: for the same purpose the saw gin is principally used in America, and, with the aid of water, steam, or cattle power, a dozen machines at much less cost can perform the same quantity of work. The crop of cotton per acre varies considerably: in India, the average estimate is 90 to 100 lbs., and in the United States it varies from 1 to 300 lbs.; but with careful cultivation these averages may be very greatly increased.

The cotton-producing countries may be divided into three classes.

1. Those in which life and property are more or less insecure.
2. Those in which the capitalist has nothing to fear from insecure government, but where labour is deficient.

3. Where firmness of government and abundance of labour are combined.

The first class embraces, in the eye of the British capitalist, every country not under the protection of our national flag; in the second, our various Colonies may be placed; while India combines the advantages which the others require.

The correspondents of the *Cotton Supply Reporter* pronounce the native seed of Turkey to be worthless for manufacturing purposes, and only applicable to its ancient purpose of candle-wicks. In Rhodes the quality is excellent, but the want of population precludes the possibility of cultivation. In various districts of Thessaly cotton can be abundantly produced from imported seed; and in Asia Minor a large district might be thus employed. The feebleness of the executive must prevent any outlay of European capital; while the want of machinery and the extortions of the tithe collector paralyse native industry. As the value of each crop cannot be estimated by the officials, the tax is generally sold to the highest bidder, who exacts the utmost from the cultivator. An export duty of twelve per cent. is charged by the government, and this weight of taxation prevents any serious competition with the American produce. In spite of these drawbacks, the export from Smyrna has considerably increased, and in Cyprus an effort is being made upon an estate of eighty thousand acres. In 1858, the English consul at Tunis commenced a company. £3000 were subscribed, and a large quantity of land prepared; but the following year operations were suspended. The Bey is now favourable to renewed efforts. In 1850-1, Mr. Thomas Clegg of Manchester, with the assistance of the agents of the Church Missionary Society, commenced the collection of cotton in Western Africa; the agents being paid by the African Native Agency Committee of London, and machinery being furnished for packing and cleaning cotton. The first operations at Sierra Leone were not successful; the English agents were unable to remain in the climate. But Mr. Clegg, having selected and educated three young Africans, commenced, under their supervision, at Lagos and Abbeokuta, operations, which have been eminently successful, the annual receipts of cotton being as follows:—

|                               | lbs.    |
|-------------------------------|---------|
| 1852 .....                    | 1,810   |
| 1853 .....                    | 4,617   |
| 1854 .....                    | 1,588   |
| 1855 .....                    | 1,651   |
| 1856 .....                    | 11,492  |
| 1857 .....                    | 35,419  |
| 1858 .....                    | 219,615 |
| 1860 to the end of August ... | 417,087 |

These endeavours have been followed by the most satisfactory results; for the whole interior teems with a large population, several towns having a population of from forty to a hundred thousand inhabitants. Taking the Niger as a boundary, and drawing an imaginary line from Rabba to Whydah, there is a population of a million and a half who import no British goods, but consume on an average, per head, 4 to 4½ lbs. of home-made material annually, besides exporting to Brazil 200,000 cloths of 2½ lbs. each, and producing for an inland trade 1,000,000 lbs. more. Slavery exists among them in the mildest form, hardly to be compared with the feudalism of the Middle Ages; and no landlord or middleman deprives the agriculturist of a fair remuneration. The quality of cotton is pronounced to be equal to that of American; and Mr. Clegg undertakes to lay it down in Liverpool at 4½d. per lb., the market value of American being 2d. per lb. more. In November last year, within a radius of eight miles, ten or twelve natives were cultivating small patches (from three to sixty acres) of cotton, and others are about to follow their example. The high price of palm oil, and the ease of obtaining it, interfered with a more general cultivation; and the want of roads was a still more serious obstacle. (A company, however, had been formed to repair the roads and build five bridges. The African Civilization Society of New York have arranged with the Chiefs of Abbeokuta to be allowed to send out a colony of free Negroes.) This project is assisted by a company in 'course of formation, one gentleman offering to take £2000 worth of shares.' At Cape Coast Castle, the Agricultural Society offers prizes for the growth of cotton and for the best yoke of oxen, guaranteeing the sale of the latter at reasonable prices, and paying 1d. per lb. for the former. This coast, once the centre of the slave trade, and bearing in its ruined forts the witnesses of the horrors perpetrated by every European nation, is now under British rule; but its internal resources are utterly undeveloped. When governed by the Royal African Company, it was overrun by the Ashantees; after being made a dependency of Sierra Leone, it again passed into the hands of the Company, was again secured by the Crown, and during the last eighteen years has undergone nine changes of administration. The executive are permitting the natives to pay the poll tax in cotton; several tons have been collected, and one agent reports that 100 miles in the interior he found a population of 70,000, everywhere engaged in planting and weaving it for their own use. Benin contains 100,000 inhabitants, who manufacture largely; and on the west bank of the Niger cotton has been cultivated for centuries. Similar accounts are received

from other localities, coinciding as to the quality and quantity of the produce, and the abundance of native labour. In the Portuguese settlement of Angola, the indigenous plant is of poor quality, and the tillage indifferent; but the Government are paying great attention to the subject, and the export increased from 10,267lbs. in 1857, to 64,620lbs. in 1859. At the Cape, the dryness of climate and constant high winds seem unfavourable; but the efforts at Natal promise great success, if the Zulus can be induced to work. Passing up the eastern coast, fresh accounts have been received from Dr. Livingstone, announcing the discovery of a 'great cotton-growing and manufacturing country,' on the banks of the Shire; and the further progress he made, 'the more important did the crop appear.'

While there is some room to hope that the efforts now making will restore the African to his position as an important and useful member of the human family, it cannot be argued that a sudden emergency in the American market could be counter-balanced by any prospective increase in this direction. The amount of produce must always depend on the amount of coloured labour which can be made available, not as a spasmodic effort, but as a permanent employment, superintended and assisted by European agency and capital. To both these conditions climate interposes an almost insuperable obstacle. In a country where all the necessities of life are procurable without exertion, the habit of continuous labour has to be learnt; and although men can be found—like Dr. Livingstone or the late Consul Campbell of Lagos—unaffected by the climate, most English constitutions succumb. It is almost impossible to find trustworthy agents; and several attempts to procure cotton in India and Africa have failed from the death or illness of the person employed. The Negro working on his own patch of ground can only give garden quantities, and no individual efforts can compete successfully with the organized slave labour of America. Life and property are not secure beyond the protection of the British flag. Recently the steamer from Abbeokuta was attacked by the inhabitants of a village on the river side, and lost two of her crew; great alarm was expressed at the rumour that the English gun-boat was to be withdrawn from Lagos; and a correspondent of the *Reporter* complains that, having been plundered by the Portuguese, he could obtain no redress.

As the Chinese war has interfered with the report of the Commission appointed to consider the petition of the Fiji King, those islands—more than two hundred in number—must here be noticed. The country is one great cotton field, a perennial tree, which will produce for ten or fifteen years, being in

bloom the greater part of the year, and furnishing very superior cotton. Five million acres are said to be capable of application to our wants; and such assistance as we have just alluded to is here provided. In various parts of South America and Polynesia cotton grows, though less abundantly, and the following table shows the impulse given to its cultivation :—

NEW COTTON COUNTRIES OPENED OR REVIVED: IMPORTS  
THEREFROM.

First Six Months, 1860.

|                           | Bales. |                          | Bales. |
|---------------------------|--------|--------------------------|--------|
| Demerara .....            | 138    | Lima .....               | 447    |
| Belize.....               | 42     | Barbadoes .....          | 47     |
| Honduras .....            | 8      | St. Kitts .....          | 26     |
| Lagos.....                | 766    | Cape Coast Castle.....   | 8      |
| Constantinople .....      | 269    | Smyrna .....             | 2      |
| Rio Grande del Norte ...  | 380    | Colon and St. Martha ... | 268    |
| Granada.....              | 38     | Beirout .....            | 12     |
| Guatemala.....            | 9      | Cochin .....             | 87     |
| St. Marc .....            | 29     | Port Natal.....          | 3      |
| Accra (Africa) .....      | 10     | Algoa Bay.....           | 35     |
| Para (Brazil).....        | 53     | Chippicolem .....        | 2,050  |
| Port au Prince .....      | 127    | Casma .....              | 807    |
| Arica .....               | 103    | Sydney .....             | 1      |
| Port Louis (Mauritius)... | 96     |                          |        |
| Valparaiso .....          | 15     | Total .....              | 5,876  |

The whole of the West India Islands and British Guiana are suitable for cotton cultivation, and the large quantity formerly imported proves the fertility of the soil. The proximity to England gives a great advantage over Asiatic or African cotton; land not available for sugar-planting exists in abundance; and the price of labour is not high. But we find in these possessions a difficulty to secure continual assiduity from the coloured population, who have no strong inducement to labour when the necessities of life are abundant, and while the sparseness of inhabitants prevents that wholesome competition which is essential to the prosperity of a trading community. British Guiana, which formerly supplied one third of our consumption, could produce 3,000,000 bales annually, but would require 400,000 additional inhabitants. Barbadoes, a prosperous island, contains 724 inhabitants to the square mile; while the miserable condition of Jamaica is accounted for by having barely 60; or, to make the case plainer, 1,500,000 of Coolies would give Jamaica half the proportionate population of her more fortunate neighbour. Whatever influence the withdrawal of protection may have had on West India property, its depreciation has not arisen from that



source alone. Want of stimulus and example causes the Negro to neglect trade, if it require patience and perseverance; and the case of Hayti shows the necessity of European influence. That island, in 1788, imported from France nearly £5,000,000 (the *total* exports of England being £12,253,895); the population was 600,000, and a force of 27,000 sailors was maintained. Its intercourse with other nations rapidly grew less after its emancipation, and its trade has seriously fallen off.

|      | Sugar.       | Coffee.      | Cotton.        |
|------|--------------|--------------|----------------|
| 1789 | 62,000 tons. | 24,000 tons. | 7,004,270 lbs. |
| 1841 | 15,300 „     | 710 „        | 1,591,454 „    |

No climate is more favourable to cotton than that of our Australian Colonies, the soil being superior even to many parts of the States; and the temperature is unaffected by frost, but sufficiently mild to permit European labour. In the proximity of the gold-producing districts no crop can be expected, and Sir W. Denison states that at Sydney the profits on cattle and sheep-farming are too large to allow a change of system; although the small farmers, hoping for a better profit, may probably plant an acre or two instead of raising maize. In the new colony of Queensland there are immense tracts of country, described by the Governor-General as adapted for the growth of cotton, and 'suitable for nothing else;' and a company is already formed, half the shares of which are said to be taken. The whole of the low lands at the mouths of the rivers, and more than six hundred miles' seaboard of the Pacific can produce 'sea islands' of the very best quality; and harbours exist along the coast from which shipments might be made without incurring the expense of inland carriage. Next year fifty acres are to be planted, from which as many bales are expected, and the company have purchased three hundred more acres for the further development of their plans. At the present range of prices, the undertaking is expected to yield a return of not less than £30 or £40 per acre, while the joint product of two crops of potatoes and maize barely realize so much. These crops are the main reliance of the Queensland farmer; but potatoes often prove a total failure; while both, being annual, are precarious, and liable to great fluctuations. Cotton being perennial, and more easy of cultivation, is likely to yield a more lucrative return, and will probably occupy a large share of attention. Here, again, capital and labour are required; and Sir George Bowen, in a letter to Mr. Bazley, thus expresses a very general feeling:—'Englishmen are, for the most part, incapable of much field work under a severe tropical sun; but English workmen will, generally speaking, find their position improved by the introduction of Asiatic and African labour.'

In short, the employment of Chinese or Coolies would be to Queensland what machinery has been to England—it would elevate the labourer to the rank of a mechanic, and the mechanic to that of an overseer.\* Large numbers of Chinese—not less than a hundred thousand—have been attracted by the gold discoveries to California and Melbourne; and the prospect of better and more certain remuneration, if properly laid before them, would attract sufficient numbers to supply much of our requirements.

Turning to India, we find an immense growth and consumption of cotton employed for 'beds, pillows, cushions, awnings, canopies, and ceilings, diapers and hangings, carpets, screens, curtains, quilting and padding of every description, both for padding cloths and saddles, for tents, ropes for tents, halters for horses, and, in fact, for all the purposes' for which other textiles are used in Europe. (*Cotton Committee Report*.) In addition to an export to England and China of 285 million lbs., the natives, reckoning an average use of 12lb. per head, take upwards of 2000 million lbs. of their own manufacture, and from 1855-8 received yearly 102 million lbs. of British cottons.\* Dr. Royle considers that *twenty-four million acres* are devoted to the growth of cotton. Comparing 1835-9 with 1855-8, the average exports from the three Presidencies have been:—

|              | Bombay.     |     | Madras.    |     | Bengal.    |
|--------------|-------------|-----|------------|-----|------------|
|              | lbs.        |     | lbs.       |     | lbs.       |
| 1835-9 ...   | 91,000,000  | ... | 13,000,000 | ... | 31,000,000 |
| 1855-8 † ... | 222,000,000 | ... | 16,000,000 | ... | 9,000,000  |

Shortly after the subjugation of Bengal, the cultivation of cotton began to decline, and a large quantity is now brought from other districts to supply the wants of the population. In some of the north-western provinces cotton is produced; and when the land is irrigated, it affords an average crop; but the soil of Lower Bengal is not favourable, and can be used in other ways to greater advantage. Dr. Forbes Watson specifies three large cotton-growing districts which have exported, in 1856-7, as follows:—

|                         |                 |
|-------------------------|-----------------|
| Surat and Guzerat ..... | 196,809,872lbs. |
| Dharwar .....           | 29,008,000      |
| Berar.....              | 65,243,304‡     |

\* The average exports of 1855-8 are taken to compare with the other figures. The exports of cottons to India in 1859 amounted to 205,894,347lbs.

† Similar particulars for 1859 'are not yet to hand' at the India House.

‡ A total of 291,061,176lbs.; the whole export of India in 1856 being 319,633,524lbs.

Notwithstanding the high prices of recent years, the exports of the two latter have declined, while that of Surat has doubled since 1852. The available area is far from being occupied; in Madras 917,000 acres are planted with cotton, but a million and a third might be thus employed; only one thirty-fourth of Bombay is under cultivation, and the capacity of these districts to furnish large quantities may be estimated from the fact that Guzerat, although only the *hundredth* part of India, supplies, from its facilities for shipment, *fifty-six per cent.* of the exports to England. The yield per acre is, in some places, superior to that of the most fertile parts of Texas. At Coimbatore and Bundelcund the crop has been 700 to 900lbs.; and Mr. Shaw mentions that, at Dharwar, one planting had produced 2600lbs. of seed cotton, nearly equivalent to 896lbs. of clean. Price is an important inducement to the native growers, and, at a low figure, the Chinese are formidable competitors with the European buyer.

| Exported in | To Great Britain. | To Other Ports. | Average price<br>of Surats. |
|-------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| 1850-4 ...  | 130,557,000 ...   | 90,715,000 ...  | 4                           |
| 1855-8 ...  | 185,229,000 ...   | 62,513,000 ...  | 4½                          |

The inferior staple and dirty condition of East India cotton—not one bale in five hundred being equal to middling American—have materially affected its value; and for the last fifty years the Indian Government has attempted to improve the quality by introducing New Orleans seed. The experiment, having cost from one to two hundred thousand pounds, has been tried in nearly every district; but it failed entirely in Lower Bengal, and was not considered successful even at Guzerat. Considerable doubt, however, has been thrown on the opinions of careless and prejudiced officials; and under improved supervision the growth of exotic seed has been increased from 40,000 to 80,000 acres, and will probably exceed this year 150,000. The price of cotton grown from American seed ranges from 1*d.* to 1½*d.* per lb. above that of the indigenous; and its superior value has caused an increased cultivation of it to mix with the native crop. Great difficulty is experienced in preventing the grower from mixing the seed, and probably the failure of the earlier efforts of the Company arose from the rapid deterioration which invariably follows such a practice. The indigenous quality, when free from adulteration, is fitted for seven-eighths of European manufactures; and the cost of growing being only *one third* that of American, would, under ordinary circumstances, give a decided advantage. India possesses abundance of land; her climate is more favourable than that of the Southern States; she already grows twice

the quantity we require; and her labour is nearly eighty per cent. cheaper than the unwilling task of the slave.

The obstacles to increased production and export are traceable to the system of government; and, although it is not our province to enter into a formal criticism, one or two points must be alluded to. Lord Cornwallis's Act of Settlement in 1793, though vehemently condemned by many authorities, and contrary to English notions of justice, has doubled the land tax, and enabled the indigo planters and other growers to obtain a settlement in Bengal. No such tenure exists in south or western India. The land is held in common by an aggregate number of villages, and the principal inhabitants, being informed what tax will be required, apportion it among the small holdings. The soils are classified into forty or fifty different kinds, each bearing a separate rent, which is 'arbitrary, high, and intricate,' and the whole population is held responsible for the defalcations of any of their number. So exorbitant is the rack rent, fixed generally at half the value of what the land is capable of producing, that after harvest a second valuation is necessary in order to consider what abatement must be made from the original assessment; and the poverty of the people is so great, that in Madras '1,000,000 persons account for holdings under twenty shillings' valuation.' As a consequence, the official expenses are enormous, and one fifth of the revenue disappears in the process of collection. Under such a system, it is impossible to hope for an increase of native cultivation; and the jealous policy of the Government, which still retains the power of preventing a European settling in provinces acquired since 1800, has been an insuperable bar to mercantile enterprise.\* Recently, indeed, permission has been granted to settle on waste lands, and any one wishing to risk his life or lose his property in a jungle is allowed to do so; but no permission—or rather, no facility—has been accorded to enable a capitalist to purchase the rights of the squatters; and in cases where they have been willing to enter into an equitable arrangement, no legal transfer can be made.

Notwithstanding the discouragement under which the Hindoo cultivator labours, cotton can be produced at 1*d.* to 1½*d.* per lb.; but the cost of transit to England will cause the grower to receive only one-third of its selling price in Liverpool, while 12½

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\* *Ex uno disce omnes.*—After eight years of unsuccessful application, Mr. Bourne went out to construct steam trains on the Indus, strongly recommended by the Home Government; but he was unable to obtain any land at Kurrachee or the vicinity to erect workshops and steam power, and after very considerable difficulty and delay was compelled to take a lease for twenty-one years at Manoro. And this system Sir Charles Wood defends!

per cent. will cover all the expenses of the American planter. For a hundred years after the commencement of British rule not a single good road was made in India, and up to the present time military operations have been the only inducement to construct them. The available roads have been made north and south, while the traffic passes east and west; and the Chairman of the Directors asserted to a recent deputation that the want of good roads was a protection to England by keeping Indian goods out of the market. The difficulty and expense of a journey performed by bullocks under a tropical sun can hardly be imagined; and the impassable character of the roads is increased by the severity of the monsoon, and the frequent destruction of bridges. Whole districts have been known to perish from starvation before a supply of food could be procured from a more prosperous locality; and each being compelled to raise a sufficiency of grain for its own wants, the cultivation of cotton and other crops has been neglected. At Tuddery, in the Mahratta country, the conveyance of cotton to the sea (150 miles) costs more than the freight of 13,000 miles to England; in other districts the same length of journey adds  $1\frac{1}{4}d.$  per lb. to the value of the cotton, while the cost of freight down the Mississippi is scarcely over  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  At Berar, where a large trade has been long carried on both with Calcutta and Bombay, a journey of five hundred miles is performed by pack bullocks in two months; the load being damaged by wind, dust, and rain, and the cost increased 100 per cent. 'India,' said a great military authority, 'is famishing for want of roads;' and this is no less true in a commercial or industrial sense. Considerable difference of opinion exists as to the respective merits of railways and canals, the former being undoubtedly superior for government and military purposes, and in many cases reaching districts which could not otherwise be penetrated. The expense of carriage on a bulky article like cotton, the cost of skilled Europeans who would be required to work the line, the benefits of irrigation to the soil, and the profits which it usually yields, are the principal arguments in favour of the canal. The present state of Indian finance will no doubt for years to come prevent the realization of Lord Stanley's scheme for a large extension of public works; and no further addition will be made to the £40,000,000 guaranteed by Government in 1847 for railway operations. At a comparatively small expense much might be done in improving the navigable rivers; and, for the past fourteen years, the state of the Godavery has been pressed upon succeeding Governments. The river which waters the most fertile part of India, comprising a country four times the size of Ireland, could for £300,000 be rendered navi-

gable for five hundred miles; the freight of cotton would be reduced from  $1\frac{1}{4}d.$  to  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  per lb.; while, in a military point of view, the passage of troops or stores to Nagpoor would be greatly facilitated. Two years ago the necessary improvements were commenced, but since Lord Stanley's retirement from office they have been discontinued. The benefit of irrigation to cotton is at least problematical, although it increases the productive power of land, and raises its value from one or two shillings per acre to sixteen or twenty. The agriculturists of Bombay are sceptical as to its benefit to the cotton plant, the culture of which is confined to localities where the least amount of rain or inundation is likely to occur. The prosperity which invariably follows the creation of public works is strikingly illustrated by the condition of Ceylon at the close of Sir Henry Ward's administration. 'During that period, (1854-9,) the revenue increased from £408,000 to £747,000; no public debt existed, but a surplus income, which arose from the impetus given to the improvement of internal communication, formation of roads, opening of canals, and the construction or restoration of large irrigation works.'\*

The inferior value of 'Surats' is principally owing to the imperfect cleaning, to the adulteration practised to increase its weight, and to the injury sustained during the long journey from the interior. The poverty or ignorance of the growers renders them the prey of the middlemen, who lend money at a rate of interest varying from twenty to fifty per cent.; and they are in their turn dependent on the native merchant who employs them. The latter makes advances to the middleman, who contracts to deliver a certain weight of cotton in Bombay, and re-lends the money at increased interest to the cultivator. The crop, being sold by weight, and not merely by quality, is not only imperfectly cleaned, but exposed to dew and adulterated with dirt, and the merchant, on its receipt, adds still further to its impurity. Nor is this all,—no means of packing exist in the interior, and the large sacks, which are carried on bullocks, are no protection from the effects of weather or temperature. If the European wishes to buy cotton, he must travel hundreds of miles, carrying bags of rupees to pay for his purchases, which will have to be weighed by him in small lots, as received from each seller; and he will be fortunate if he can find an empty temple or any convenient building where it can be stored until arrangements are made to convey it to the coast. If the roads be not impassable in powdered dust, and the monsoon do not interfere, perhaps no food

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\* *Times* Correspondent.



can be procured for the bullocks, and the cotton may reach Liverpool *two years* after the seed was planted. These disadvantages are such as might be removed by the direct contact of European capital and superintendence with the native. Cotton at Berar, carefully selected and properly packed, has realized 7½*d.* per lb., while the ordinary export sold at 5½*d.*; and Mr. Landor, a spinner at Broach, by refusing to buy a dirty article, is able to produce 'forties' yarn, while the usual quality is only fit for 'sixteens.'

Capital, labour, and transit, cheap and abundant,—the essentials of cotton spinning,—are the great desiderata in cotton-growing; and the disinclination of Lancashire men to take steps to counteract the deficiency, has been the general subject of remark, and the last refuge of Indian obstinacy. The old proverb that 'everybody's business is nobody's business' may to some extent hold good; the merchant, whose attention and capital are fully occupied, can hardly be expected to take individually any steps to plant cotton; and the speedy return of abundant harvests dissipated until recently any fear of a permanent deficiency. Manchester men have drawn a distinction between joint-stock companies formed to undertake duties within the scope of private enterprise, and those which require a capital of millions; while the rapid increase of business, and consequent facility of investing surplus capital, the terrible experience of former Bank failures, and the ill success of other joint-stock companies started under high commercial auspices, have prevented the employment of capital in an unknown trade and a distant country.

The greatness of the danger has to some extent naturally overpowered the sensitiveness with which British capitalists regard any doubtful scheme; and, in addition to many colonial and foreign associations, two companies of limited liability have been formed, to which we shall allude according to their priority of formation. The British Cotton Company was registered in 1858; and during the last two years has had an experimental cotton-growing plantation in Jamaica, which has produced cotton equal to 'good, fair American;' but, although satisfied with the result of this trial, the promoters regard Australia, Natal, and India as the principal cotton field. In the former they desire to employ Chinese or East Indian labourers, supplying them with food, and buying cotton at prices to be regulated by quality. East Indian cotton is to be purchased from the natives either cleaned or in the natural state; growing and packing depôts are to be established, and light iron ploughs and other machinery leased to the grower. The capital of the company is fixed at £30,000, to be increased as required. In September last,

another association (not yet registered) was formed, under the presidency of Mr. Bazley; the Provisional Board contains some of the most prominent members of the Cotton Supply Association; and of the required capital (£100,000) nearly £40,000 has already been subscribed. As 'India offers the most promising field, the first efforts of this company will be directed' to Dharwar. The formation of a harbour at Sedashevagur, and a road for seventy miles inland, will give access to the heart of the district where the company will buy, clean, and pack the cotton. It is but fair to add that both associations have received cordial assurances of support from the Home and Indian Governments. As an investment, estimates show a profit varying from ten to thirty per cent., (the accuracy of which is confirmed by the statement that in 1850-2 the Indian Government realized a profit of £6,273 on cotton which cost £33,796,) and the names of the directors prove that economy and prudence will characterize their labours.

The success of these experiments will be regarded with deep anxiety, not only by those whom they are designed to benefit, but by all who feel an interest in the welfare of so large a portion of the commonwealth. A sound feeling of patriotism will cause the statesman, the political economist, and the philanthropist, to rejoice that the most important branch of our commercial industry is relieved from a danger which has more than once been imminent, and is annually liable to recur. If India can compete successfully with America, we shall no longer pay exorbitantly for our requirements, and trade with our most important possession will be largely increased; but if an enterprise, conducted by men of ability and knowledge, be unsuccessful, many years must elapse before public or private effort will again enter the field. But the question does not end with the prosperity of this country; it assumes an importance commensurate with the principle which it embodies,—the destruction of slavery.

A large import of free-grown cotton, whether from India, Africa, or the Colonies, will, by lowering the price, check the inducement of American cultivation, and cause a corresponding reduction in the value of human flesh. Our merchants do not require Government patronage or extraneous aid; but they may fairly claim that official red tape shall not mar or delay their efforts, and that all who value 'religion, freedom, truth,' will assist their endeavours. Such an appeal cannot be made in vain in a country which, amidst the wreck of despotic thrones, and the prostitution of liberal principles, alone maintains an asylum for the persecuted and distressed of every creed; and can arm tens of thousands of her citizens, with confidence that

the power intrusted to their hands will not be abused for the gratification of political feeling, or of private animosity. We should be unworthy successors of a generation which produced the piety of a Wilberforce, the energy of a Clarkson, and the eloquence of a Brougham, if we did not heartily sympathize with every effort of that spirit of freedom which, by emancipating the nation from political and commercial bondage, has proved the source of our political stability and commercial greatness.

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- ART. VIII.—1. *The Story of New Zealand : Past and Present—Savage and Civilized.* By ARTHUR S. THOMPSON, M.D., Surgeon-Major 58th Regiment. Two Volumes. London: Murray. 1859.
2. *New Zealand and its Colonization.* By WILLIAM SWAINSON, formerly, and for upwards of Fifteen Years, her Majesty's Attorney-General for New Zealand. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1859.
3. *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders : with Illustrations of their Manners and Customs.* By EDWARD SHORTLAND, M.A. London: Longmans. 1856.
4. *Polynesian Mythology, and Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealand Race, as furnished by their Priests and Chiefs.* By SIR GEORGE GREY, late Governor-in-Chief of New Zealand. London: Murray. 1855.
5. *The Maori King Movement in New Zealand, with a full Report of the Native Meetings held at Waikato, April and May, 1860.* By the REV. THOMAS BUDDLE.
6. *Statistics of New Zealand for 1858 and 1859.* Compiled from Official Records. Presented to both Houses of the General Assembly by Command of His Excellency. Auckland.

Two hundred and eighteen years ago the enterprising Dutch navigator, Tasman, cast anchor in a bay of an unknown country in the South Pacific Ocean. Hostile demonstrations on the part of the inhabitants, and the slaughter of four of his crew, deterred him from landing, and induced him to curse the spot by calling it Massacre Bay. On his return to Europe he named the newly-discovered country New Zealand; and it was generally believed to form part of the great southern continent. He naturally enough described the natives as bloodthirsty and ferocious. Upwards of a century passed away without further tidings from the shores whose first discovery had been attended

with such disaster; but, in the year 1769, Captain Cook disembarked there, being the first European who had ever trod that soil. He took possession in the name of George the Third; observed the transit of the planet Mercury across the sun; imparted several new kinds of food, and sundry items of civilizing knowledge to the natives, and thus contributed important results to the cause of both science and humanity. On the other hand, however, while none of the great captain's own crew sustained the slightest personal injury, he left behind him a sad memento of his visit, and of the tendency of the so-called civilized men to abuse their power over savages. Ten of the natives were killed, and many more wounded, by Cook's haughty and unscrupulous companions. Little did either party imagine what great destinies were in store for the country which emerged from obscurity under these mingled auspices. Little was it then conceived that this barbarous region would soon be the scene of the most glorious triumphs of Christianity; still less that, ere long, on its surface would be worked out one of the deepest and most thrilling problems of humanity,—whether contact can be maintained between a civilized and savage race, without ruin to the latter, and untold disgrace to the former.

Our readers are, doubtless, aware that New Zealand comprises three principal islands, called respectively the Northern, the Middle, and Stewart's Island. Presuming that the physical conformation, natural productions, and scenic features of these islands are moderately well known to persons of ordinary information, we shall satisfy ourselves with a very brief reference to such matters here. The volcanic origin of the country is indicated in the lofty conical mountains, and the abrupt and broken character of the surface; in numerous extinct and not a few active craters; in igneous rocks and volcanic *débris* of various kinds; in geysers ejecting hot water two degrees above the boiling point, and mud-holes shooting forth mud several degrees hotter still. All these phenomena are clustered in profusion on the Northern Island. The mountain chains are lofty, steep, and very irregular; travelling is consequently difficult, and intercommunication precarious and infrequent. On the Northern Island the plains are few and by no means extensive, but there are sheltered dells of great beauty and fertility. The scenery is generally extremely beautiful,—much bolder, on the whole, than that of Great Britain, with which it has often been compared. In the scenery of mountain, river, coast, and harbour, it is equal to anything here; but it has no combinations of sublime and picturesque beauty which can be compared with Cumberland, the Highlands of Scotland, or Killarney. Owing to the singularity of the

flora, the forest scenery has strange charms for the European traveller. Wild flowers are comparatively few, and 'the landscape is not soft or gay, but grand and sombre.' The trees are generally evergreen, and the change of seasons is indicated by a change of shade, rather than of colour, in the forest-leaves. One hundred and seventeen species of ferns are found, forty-two of which are indigenous, and some of them assume the appearance and proportions of trees. The prevalence of these ferns, and of some other plants, together with the general luxuriance of vegetation, imparts an almost tropical appearance to the forests of New Zealand.

In an economical and commercial point of view, the Kauri pine and the flax-plant seem to be the most valuable of the vegetable products. The former magnificent tree grows principally near Auckland, attains a height of ninety feet before it branches out, and is often forty feet in girth. It is invaluable for ships' masts and canoes. The gum of this tree is also very valuable. Of the flax-plant, Dr. Thompson says, 'that it was to the New Zealanders what the cocoa-nut tree is to the Hindus; it was used for building and thatching huts, for sails, nets, fishing-tackle, plates, ropes, baskets, medicines, and for tying anything requiring to be kept together. From the flax flowers a honey drink was extracted, and from the roots of the leaves an edible gum; sandals were made out of flax by the natives living in the Middle Islands; and flax differently prepared furnished various mats and articles of clothing, some being as coarse as straw mats, while others rivalled the shawls of Cashmere in softness.'\*

As to the fauna of New Zealand,—the land mammalia had but two indigenous representatives, and they were two varieties of bats. The sea mammalia are thirteen; namely, eight whales, two dolphins, and three seals. There are eighty-three specimens of birds, the land birds preponderating over those of the sea. Song-birds are not numerous, especially near the settlements, and in the depths of the forests. And yet on the fringes of the woods and in the smaller groves, 'as many as fifteen different kinds of birds have been seen perched together upon the branch of a single tree, singing in wild harmony their early daylight song.'† The Tui has a note resembling in fulness of melody that of the blackbird or thrush; and the Bell-bird, frequenting Queen Charlotte's Sound, is described by Captain Cook as discoursing a music infinitely superior to anything he had ever heard, resembling small bells most exquisitely tuned. The most remarkable birds of New Zealand, however, were the gigantic Moas,

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\* *Story of New Zealand*, page 19.

† Swainson.

distinguished by massive legs and rudimentary wings, like the ostrich, emu, and cassiowary. This family of birds is now believed to be extinct, with the exception of the least colossal variety, a few specimens of which have been encountered within the last few years in the Middle Island. In the British Museum may be seen, built up by Professor Owen, the skeleton of one of the largest of this tribe,—the *Dinornis Elephantopus*, so called from the resemblance of its foot to that of the elephant. The average height of the largest Moas was thirteen feet. There are no serpents or snakes in the islands; but a few small lizards and frogs have been found. Naturalists have enumerated one hundred different species of fish; an imperfect list, as the natives mention many more which they are in the habit of eating. Eels are very abundant and large, and seem to be as jealously tapued, or preserved, as trout or salmon in our British rivers. Of insects upwards of one hundred species have been discovered. Mosquitoes infest the bush, to the annoyance of the traveller; and there are two poisonous spiders. Cicadæ make the forests and fern-brakes vocal with their grating chirrup in summer, and some of them and a certain caterpillar are frequently found with a fungus attached four times their own length.

As might be expected, New Zealand is well stored with minerals. Coal has been discovered at Nelson, Otago, and Auckland, the extremities and the middle of the Colony. It has been tested by engineers, and pronounced highly valuable for steam and manufacturing purposes. The discovery of gold in California and Australia at one time seriously threatened the prosperity of the Colony; but, among its other effects, it led to the examination of the mountains and rivers of New Zealand; and in 1852, the precious metal was found, though in small quantities, about forty miles from Auckland; in 1854 and 1857, larger pieces were discovered at Nelson and in the Aorere river, and also at the southern extremity of the Middle Island. There is little doubt that, as the country becomes more opened up and occupied, other and wealthier auriferous deposits will be found. Sulphur, copper, alum, manganese, obsidian, and silver, are also embedded in the rocks; and iron is found abundantly, especially on some of the beaches. We have a specimen of sand from Taranaki, which contains 88 per cent. of peroxide of iron.

The cultivable soil of New Zealand is declared by competent authorities to equal in extent and fertility that of Great Britain. The grassy plains and natural pastures of the Middle Island seem to point to the breeding of sheep and cattle, and the production of wool; while tillage and a thriving coasting trade are indicated by the alluvial soil, indented coasts, and varied pro-



ductions of the northern provinces. But the variety both of soil and climate is so great that any general description is very difficult. On the whole, the summer in New Zealand is longer and warmer, and the winter, spring, and autumn are much milder, than in England. Rains, however, are very frequent, and some parts of the islands are disturbed by tempestuous winds. There is much difference in this respect, however, between the different provinces. The Middle Island, especially in its northern province, appears to have much less both of wind and rain than the Northern Island. Persons who have gone to New Zealand relying upon the descriptions of its 'splendid and delightful' climate, 'neither too hot, nor too cold; too wet, nor too dry,' have been disappointed to find the weather liable to great extremes. More rain falls in the North Island than in England; but fogs are seldom seen; thunder-storms are not so frequent or severe as in England, 'and lightning, though common, is generally harmless.' There is very little snow, and that little lies but a short time on the ground. The temperature is remarkably equable. The yearly mean temperature of Auckland is 8·04 warmer than that of London, and the mean of the four seasons respectively warmer in the following degrees:—spring, 8·06; summer, 4·06; autumn, 8·47; and winter, 11·56. In comparison with Torquay, Auckland is warmer,—in spring, 6·31; in summer, 6·82; in autumn, 6·71; and in winter, 6·68. There cannot be a doubt that, in point of salubrity, New Zealand is far before Great Britain. Of 455 married women, attached during three years to the military in New Zealand, only one died from pectoral disease. Since 1836, seventeen Missionaries and their families have been resident in the North Island. Very few deaths indeed have occurred among them, and not one from consumption. The reason is, that the climate admits of the most constant and continual exposure in the open air without injury,—a fact which must tell incalculably in favour of the general health. As to fertility, the capabilities of the soil and climate have now been put to a protracted test, and with very striking results. Nearly all the fruits of Europe grow side by side with Indian corn; it being especially remarkable, and contrary to almost universal experience elsewhere, that maize and potatoes equally mature their produce, and yield a remunerating crop. English vegetables, indeed, all grow well; and so do English flowers, producing fine colours, and extremely profuse in quantity. In the north 'the geranium, fuschia, arum, myrtle, balsam, camellia, coronella, hydrangia, heliotrope, gladiola, and Cape bulbs of every kind,

enjoy a vigorous existence in the open air, and roses blow without ceasing.'

It must not be omitted that New Zealand is occasionally exposed to earthquakes. One of these occurred in 1848, extending over a space of upwards of three hundred miles, both in the Middle and in the North Island. At Wellington it destroyed property to the amount of £14,000, and of course spread universal consternation and alarm; but the shock was not felt at Auckland. A still more severe convulsion of the kind occurred in 1855. The earth shook during the whole night. The beach at Wellington was swept by a tidal wave; for eight hours the tide receded from the shore every twenty minutes, rising two feet higher, and falling four feet lower, than at spring tides; and the next day there was no ordinary tide in the harbour. Fifty-three per cent. of the brick chimneys were thrown down, and thirty-nine much injured; £16,000 worth of property was destroyed; the country round Wellington was elevated two feet, and the low water mark became the limit of high water. Other very remarkable results followed elsewhere. In the Wairau Valley several fissures yawned four feet deep; 'one of the Taupo geysers dried up; part of the lip of the Tongariro crater fell in; another cone called Ketetahi burst forth; and at one time Lake Roto-iti appeared, to the natives living on its banks, as if it were sinking into the earth.'

From this general and imperfect sketch of the country let us now turn to the race which its first European discoverers found upon its shores. They are evidently a mixed race. Many of them are above the middle height, of a light copper colour, with straight black hair; while others are comparatively short, dark brown in colour, and have crisp and curly hair. These physical differences ally them respectively to the two races scattered over the islands of the Pacific Ocean; the copper-coloured race from the Sandwich Islands to New Zealand, and the darker race from Fiji to New Guinea. There can be little doubt that the ancestral stock of the New Zealanders was Malay, and the presence of the darker-skinned inhabitants may be accounted for by the intermixture of the two Polynesian races at certain points of junction in their migrations. The home of the Malay race is in Sumatra, whose inhabitants are bold, piratical, and maritime. Dr. Thompson traces the probable course of their eastward migrations in a very able chapter, showing that at an early period they had ships, and that to the present day 200 Malay proas annually frequent the northern coasts of Australia to fish. It is common enough to set out at the commencement of the

westerly monsoon on a fishing and migratory expedition; and they carry women and children, a supply of food and of seed, and have the company moreover of dogs and rats.

The uniform tradition of the natives is, 'The seed of our coming is from Hawaiki, the seed of food, the seed of men.' This, of course, refers to a later migration than the primary one. Most ethnologists agree to identify Hawaiki with Hawaii in the Sandwich Islands; but Dr. Thompson gives reasons for preferring Savii in the Navigators' Islands. As the latter, however, lies directly in the course of navigation from the Sandwich Islands to New Zealand, it is possible that both theories are true, and that Savii was an intermediate station on the route from Hawaii. The native traditions all agree in attributing the migration from Hawaiki to wars and dissensions, and in saying that it was conducted in canoes built and fitted out for the purpose; and even the valedictory address of the Hawaikian patriarch has been preserved. It is not necessary further to examine what can be said on this subject. Suffice it to say, that there is good reason for believing that the ancestors of the present native inhabitants of New Zealand reached that country between four and five hundred years ago, 'a date corresponding with that of the arrival of the Gypsies in Spain.'

The physical characteristics of the Maori, or aboriginal race of New Zealand, are given in very minute detail by Dr. Thompson in a chapter replete with interest, and indicative of the most careful and intelligent observation. A little shorter than the average English height, your model Maori man is distinguished by long arms and body, short legs, feet short, broad, and generally inclining inwards. His hair for the most part is dark and slightly wavy. His teeth are good, mouth coarse, nose short and broad, and with an imperfect bridge, though in some instances inclined to the Jewish form. His eyes are large and dark; his head large, well-formed, and intellectual; and his forehead is high, retreating, and pyramidal. He is rather weaker than an Englishman of similar size, owing, it is supposed, to poorer fare. He is tattooed on the face, hips, and thighs, with marks resembling the lines on the backs of fishes. He perforates the lobes of his ears, and, sometimes, the cartilage of his nose, inserting such ornaments as he fancies: probably, a greenstone in the ears, and a feather in his nostrils. He seldom has whiskers, and his beard has been plucked out by a pair of pipi shells. His muscles are well developed, his carriage erect, and his whole bearing manly and independent. The Maori women are pleasing, and even fascinating in youth, especially when they droop their long eyelashes, with a languishing expression, over

their bright restless eyes. But they marry young, fade early, perform all the hard work, and consequently soon look old and ugly. They frequently tatoo their lips, chins, eyelids, &c.

It is difficult to describe the intellectual and general character of this fine bold race of savages. They seem, indeed, to be made up of incongruities. They are quick and keen observers; shrewd, rather than thoughtful; with memories tenacious as to the traditional past, but strangely incompetent as to the real and the recent; are not remarkable for imagination, but have considerable wit and humour; are both inquisitive and communicative; can scarcely keep a secret, and yet have often proved a match for the most cautious diplomatist; keen in trade, acquisitive, and yet improvident; warlike, and yet so deficient in real valour, that they cannot fight till they have screwed their courage to the sticking place by help of the maddening and horrible war-dance; good-humoured, yet quick to detect and resent an insult; grave in aspect, but jocular in disposition; hospitable and cheerful; and with a great imitative faculty, and the power of adapting themselves to circumstances; but revengeful and cruel in a high degree. They are vain, arrogant, boastful, eloquent, polite; yet they are avaricious, ungrateful, disobliging, dirty in their persons and dwellings, habitually unclean in their conversation, and, at least during youth, fearfully profligate in their habits. Such is the curious jumble of qualities inherent, according to the best authorities, in the genuine Maori. He is evidently a most versatile creature, soon finds out the character of his company, and what they expect of him, and adapts himself accordingly; and this, perhaps, is the true reason of the very diverse judgments which have been pronounced respecting him.

The constitution of society is patriarchal. The aborigines are divided into nations, tribes, and families. There are eighteen historical nations, between whom wars, disputes, alliances, are held, just as between the mightiest independent nations in the world. The subdivision into tribes is curiously minute. One single nation, embracing now not more than 3,704 persons, is divided into forty-five separate tribes. Each tribe has its chieftain, or head, who owns allegiance to the Chief, or King, of his nation. Six social gradations are recognised:—the Chief, or King, the members of the royal family, the chieftains or nobles, the middle classes, the lower orders, and the slaves. The persons of the chiefs are deemed sacred; and indeed these functionaries consider themselves and are regarded by the people as inspired and even deified men,—so universal is the theocratic idea, whether among civilized or uncivilized nations. The

government, however, is, in spite of this, extremely democratic. The people meet in general assembly, at which all persons, male and female, have the right of expressing their opinion. Hence oratory is very much cultivated. In their public discourses, the New Zealander speakers recite a great deal of ancient poetry, beginning with quotations only darkly suggestive of their views, making their meaning gradually clearer by passages increasingly significant, and generally closing with a citation which leaves no mistake as to their opinions. The structure of these discourses is highly artificial, regulated by fixed rules, and the man who quotes the largest amount of pertinent and suggestive poetry is sure of the warmest plaudits of the assembly. In the administration of justice, which takes place under popular control, but is nevertheless conducted upon certain well-defined principles recognised among themselves, and faithfully observed, the great principle of the New Zealanders is, that of compensation for injuries rather than the prevention of crimes; so that a system of reprisals prevails universally, both among individuals and tribes.

Of all the social institutions of New Zealand, and of Polynesia generally, the *tapu*, or *tabou*, is the most celebrated and peculiar. Dr. Thompson traces analogies to this word in the Malay, Hindu, and Sanscrit languages. In the last-named tongue, *ta* signifies to mark, and *pu*, to purify. Shortland, who devotes a chapter to this subject, derives the word from *ta*, to mark, and *pu*, an adverb of intensity, and considers that its primary meaning is 'to mark thoroughly.' Its derivative signification is 'sacred' or 'prohibited,' because *tapued* things and places were generally marked in a peculiar manner. This singular observance appears to rest upon a quasi-religious foundation. Without any knowledge of one Supreme Being, the natives nevertheless believed in the spiritual world. Their most beloved and honoured relative became, on his death, the guardian spirit of his family. This spirit—or *Atua*—continued to take an interest in the affairs of life, especially in those of his family; he watched their observances, punished them for the neglect, and rewarded them for the practice, of certain usages; he distributed prosperity or adversity, health or sickness, life or death. He was supposed to manifest himself occasionally in various forms. Kings, chiefs, priests, are regarded as the links of connexion between the living and the spirits of the dead, and are consequently *tapu*. The essence of the spirit, or *Atua*, is somehow supposed to be inherent in them, or transmitted to them; and, as anything *tapued* communicates its sacredness to all it touches, they have the power of imposing the *tapu* on others. Whenever

anything *tapued* comes in contact with food, such food must not be eaten; and any vessel or place where the food has been, must no longer be devoted to its ordinary use. The head and backbone of the human body are *tapu*,—Shortland conjectures, because the soul or spiritual essence of man was supposed to reside in the brain and spinal marrow. Many curious restrictions arose out of this notion. A chief will never carry food, except in his hands, lest he should *tapu* it; nor enter a place where it is kept, lest some sacred part of his person should *tapu* it; and he will either carry away, or place out of the reach of others, any food that may have been left from his meal.

The food of the New Zealanders, even before the arrival of Captain Cook, had no lack of variety. Their taste, however, was omnivorous rather than select. Fern-root, rats, dogs, bats, seals, whales, reptiles, worms, chrysalises, vegetables, caterpillars, sea-weeds, mosses, and fungi, were among the delicacies of their *cuisine*; and the native method of cooking food—namely, by making an oven in the ground, with heated stones, water, fresh leaves, &c.—is described by several writers in very appetizing terms. Pigs, sheep, goats, cows, fowls, maize, wheat, and a great variety of vegetables, have been introduced among them by Europeans. As to their domestic ceremonies and familiar usages, we have no space to pursue the varied and interesting details which Dr. Thompson especially has chronicled for us. Marriage was a purely civil act, by no means indissoluble; the consent of the brothers of the bride was the most necessary preliminary; infidelity, on both sides, seems to have been common. Polygamy, at least among chiefs, was practised. Dr. Thompson strangely complains that ‘polygamy has unjustly proved a barrier to the admission of several excellent chiefs into the Christian Church; although the Missionaries, in refusing chiefs baptism on this plea, have been unable to point out where it is laid down in Scripture that a layman should have only one wife.’ If we mistake not, Bishop Colenso, of Natal, was of the same opinion as Dr. Thompson on this point, and acted upon it for a time in his diocese. We believe the good Bishop saw reason to change his views; but, if not, we trust his lordship and Dr. Thompson, among British Christians, may enjoy a monopoly of this singular and disreputable crotchet.

In spite of their cannibalism, to which we shall immediately refer, the New Zealanders seem to have treated the bodies of their dead—especially of departed chiefs—with great respect. They indulged in loud lamentations, cut themselves with shells, besmeared their bodies with red and black pigments, shed abundance of tears, and killed slaves to attend upon the deceased in



the next world. The corpse was washed, placed in a sitting attitude, adorned with feathers and flowers, covered with a fine mat, and sat in state, surrounded by the bones and preserved heads of past generations, till it gave out an ill odour; when it was placed in a canoe-shaped box, and deposited on a stage nine feet high, or hung from a tree, or interred within the house where the chief had died. After about a year, 'the bones were scraped clean, placed in boxes or mats, and secretly deposited by priests in sepulchres on hill-tops, in forests, or in caves.' This was an occasion for a great feast, which, in many cases, was repeated for several successive years. These people, by the way, are much addicted to feasting, and the banquets in which they indulge, whether as to quality or quantity, are very startling to read of. In 1836, there was a celebrated feast, called a *hakari*, at Matamata on the Thames. There were counted 8,000 baskets of potatoes, 500,000 eels, 800 pigs, and 15 casks of tobacco. We do not wonder to be told that to provide for such feasts 'tribes worked hard, and endured hunger for months without repining.' Native games, and latterly such amusements as firing guns, gambling, and horse racing, introduced by Englishmen, are practised at these gigantic saturnalia; and we grieve to say that at one time they were grand occasions for travelled New Zealanders to show their stay-at-home countrymen, in pantomime, 'how Englishmen got drunk, quarrelled, and fought.' They are not naturally an industrious people, but they rarely suffer from *ennui*, 'killing time,' as the phrase is, by story-telling, smoking, singing, trumpet and flute playing, proposing riddles, and playing at a variety of games, many of which we should deem fit only for children. As to the reckoning of time, the year began in June, and consisted of thirteen months, each divided into twenty-nine nights, every one having a distinct name. The ordinary mode of salutation was by rubbing noses, the closeness and continuity of this odd ceremony depending upon the degree of intimacy between the parties, or the interval of separation. Crying accompanied the nose-rubbing, where strong affection was felt, or where etiquette required it to be expressed. The dress consisted of a sort of kilt round the loins, and a large mat, both made of flax. The men also wore flax waist-belts, and a few tribes flax sandals. For information respecting other matters relative to their personal and domestic *ménage*, we must refer to the volumes at the head of our list, and especially to the first volume of Dr. Thompson's interesting work.

When Captain Cook arrived in New Zealand, he found the whole population living in fortified villages, and war appeared to

be their normal condition. As might be expected, the introduction of fire-arms only aggravated this miserable anarchy; and, until the influence of Christianity became pervading, the whole land was an immense battle-field. The causes of native wars were violations of the rights of property, cursing or bewitching persons, adultery, objectionable marriages, violating *tapus*, murders, personal injuries, and hereditary feuds. The last two causes were the most common, and were almost perpetual, it being a universal maxim that the obligation to revenge an insulted or injured kinsman descended as an inheritance from generation to generation; and that revenge was a kingly duty of the highest order. Before making war, the gods were consulted; but even if victory were promised, the war-party did not take the field till stimulated by the 'Dutch courage' inspired by oratory and the war-dance. The war-dance, as described by Dr. Thompson, and especially as depicted in the frontispiece to his first volume, must have been a ghastly and appalling sight, vying with a similar ceremony among the Red Indians, and suggestive of a multitude of fiends, infuriated to the highest pitch of madness. When this hellish performance had produced its effect, the belligerent parties approached each other with abusive epithets and insulting attitudes, hurled their spears, and then, yelling horribly, rushed upon each other, and grappled in deadly conflict. 'Each warrior selected his foe, and a series of personal duels followed. In a minute, one party gave way and fled, and the conquerors raced howling in pursuit.' Repulses were defeats, and defeats frequently destruction. Other modes of warfare, such as the assault and defence of fortified posts, or *pahs*, and sea-fights in war canoes, are described with much minuteness; but we have only space to watch the conduct of the victors on returning from pursuit. First, their own dead were carefully collected, and removed in honourable state; then the enemy's wounded were tortured and slain, and the vanquished dead were cooked and eaten, the heads being exposed during the cannibal repast, and preserved for long afterwards, in order that they might be loaded with insults and reproaches, which, under such circumstances, were absolutely diabolical. The victors gorged themselves for several days with the flesh of their conquered enemies. We shall not disgust our readers with any description of the cannibal orgies of New Zealand. As to the origin of the frightful practice, the traditions of the people agree with their customs in referring it to revenge and hatred, for the purpose of casting disgrace on the persons eaten, and striking terror into their friends and allies. Women were not allowed to become cannibals,—a pretty

clear proof that the disgusting practice did not originate in any scarcity of other food. But, as Dr. Thompson truly remarks, whatever may have originated the practice, 'sensual love of human flesh invariably influenced the continuance of the custom;' and there is abundant evidence that these noble but wretched savages greatly relished human flesh. They had a proverb to the effect that 'the flesh of man surpasses that of all other animals in flavour.'

The language of New Zealand is a dialect of the tongue spoken among all the lighter-coloured races of Polynesia, but not among the darker ones. It is derived from the Malay, and contains several Sanscrit words. The alphabet consists of fourteen letters. All the harsher consonants are omitted from it. Seven varieties of the language are spoken in different parts; and there is a language among the priests, containing many Sanscrit words, which is unintelligible to the people. The grammatical forms of the popular dialect are simple, and there are no distinctions in gender. Declension and conjugation are effected by particles, and superlatives are formed by reduplication. The native literature—if such a term can be applied to the traditional and strictly oral productions of a barbarous people, entirely unacquainted with letters—consisted chiefly of legendary and other poems, heathen prayers and incantations, &c. Sir George Grey, the able and indefatigable Governor of the country from 1845 to 1853, found time, in the midst of the innumerable and onerous duties of his office, to collect a large number of these; and the result has been given to the world in one of the volumes on our list, and in another as yet untranslated collection, which, according to Mr. Swainson's account of it, must be even more interesting. Shortland's work also contains several native legends, laments, love songs, mythological tales, fables, proverbs, time chants, or airs composed to promote regularity and cheerfulness when men work in combination, war songs, songs in contempt of conquered enemies and others, and stories. These things constituted the literature of New Zealand before the advent of Christianity to its shores. Meagre as all this was, and pervaded as these productions often are with the most wearisome tameness, some of them are extremely beautiful, abounding with tender sentiments and poetical images. Dr. Thompson and others find fault with the Missionaries for endeavouring, as they allege, to bury this native lore in oblivion. That they should endeavour to make the *natives* forget a literature which was generally impure and absurd, and which could only interfere with that moral regeneration of the people on which the Missionary is necessarily exclusively intent, was not

only natural, but laudable. But, while acknowledging this, and resenting any reflection on the men who acted from motives so lofty and praiseworthy, we readily concur in the opinion that 'in a philosophical point of view the whole literature is a valuable addition to the history of the race;' and that Sir George Grey, Dr. Shortland, and others, who have collected and published these legends, have rendered great service to the world of science and letters.

Medical and other readers will be interested with Dr. Thompson's account of the indigenous and imported diseases of the New Zealanders. That subject, however, need not detain us here; and we proceed to the only remaining point under this division of our subject, namely, the religious ideas and sentiments of this singular and interesting people. They worshipped no Supreme Being; attributed an individual existence to the heavens and earth; after a singular and subtle theory about the production of *Rangi*, the Heaven, and *Papa*, the Earth, through a successive series of abstractions from 'Night,' which was in the beginning. *Rangi* and *Papa* begot six children, who conspired against their parents and tore them asunder; and this notion originated the beautiful poetic conception that the sundered Heaven and Earth 'still continue their mutual love for each other. The Earth sends up his love to Heaven in the mists which rise from the mountains and valleys; Heaven mourns through the long night her separation from her beloved Earth, and from her bosom trickle frequent tears, which men call dew-drops.'\* The children of *Rangi* and *Papa* are worshipped as tutelary gods, each having, as in all such mythologies, his peculiar department; and they quarrel and fight with each other in the most approved fashion,—the New Zealand demi-gods adding a little cannibalism to their other practices. There were no images, nor is there a proper word for 'idol' in the Maori language. Among the most celebrated of the descendants of the god and father of men and war was Maui, and to him is assigned the honour of fishing up with the aid of his brothers the island of Hawaiki, the traditional ancestral home of the Maori race. Several high chiefs were supposed, after death, to have been deified; and these are worshipped, and believed to hover over the people in the battle-field, 'rousing the spirits of the faint, and nerving the arms of the weak.' The Maoris believed in a future state, and in the immateriality and immortality of the soul, but not in the resurrection of the body. They thought that the spirits of their deified ancestors revisited the

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\* Grey.

earth, and adopted the notion of the transmigration of souls. Lizards, especially, were regarded as the shrines of these spirits, and were of course regarded with superstitious reverence and terror. The priesthood was selected from the noblest families; and the offices of chief and priest were generally united and hereditary. Dr. Thompson thinks they were not rogues,—a notion, as it seems to us, contradictory to analogy. He admits, however, that they had a good deal of cunning, and practised ventriloquism. Each tribe had a sorcerer, who 'lived on the labour of others, and was dreaded by all.' A very remarkable ceremony resembling baptism accompanied the naming of infants. The child, before it was a month old, was adorned with feathers and the family greenstones, rolled up in a mat, and carried to the side of a stream, where the mother delivered it into the priest's hands. The priest then named it, using a chant, and repeating the names of its ancestors, till the crying or sneezing of the child indicated the name it was to bear. Then, in a falsetto voice, the priest sang a form of words appropriate to the sex of the child. He then sprinkled it with water shaken out of the branches of trees, or immersed it in the river. This summary will suggest to most minds correspondences both with other mythologies, and with patriarchal doctrines and facts; but it must be admitted that the traces of the primeval truth and history, if indeed there be any real traces at all, are very few and exceedingly obscure.

The Europeans who followed in the track of the first discoverers of New Zealand, were not of a kind to do the native race much service. Towards the close of the eighteenth century, the extension of the South Sea whale fishery, the establishment of convict settlements in Australia and Norfolk Island, and the commercial value of New Zealand flax, led to a cautious and partial intercourse between the Europeans and the Maoris. This intercourse was characterized for some time by mutual violence and distrust. Scenes of outrage and bloodshed occurred which were almost equally discreditable to both parties. Unscrupulous and abandoned Europeans overreached and oppressed the natives at every opportunity; and the latter took reprisals by massacre and cannibalism. There was another class of Europeans, however, who settled among the natives, and maintained intimate relations with them. These were sealers, whalers, and Pakeha Maoris, or white New Zealanders. Sailors, runaway or liberated convicts, and obscure people with the manners of gentlemen, formed the bulk of this class, which consisted chiefly of Americans and Englishmen. Dr. Thompson calls them the pioneers of civilization; and so, in a certain sense,

they were ; but it was without any intention on their part that they paved the way for a better state of things. They built houses ; cultivated the land ; established an incipient commerce, by exchanging tea, sugar, blankets, tobacco, and dresses, for pigs, flax, and labour ; they introduced several natives to the mysteries of English whale-ships and navigation ; substituted whale-boats for canoes ; improved native huts by chimneys, beds, and glass windows ; taught the native women to sew, cook, and keep themselves clean ; and substituted to some extent the manly love of fair play, for the treachery which savages practise as if it were a virtue. They even, under the influence of habit, made a difference, as to labour, dress, and amusement, between Sunday and other days. But, on the other hand, they taught the natives to relish and to drink ardent spirits, practised concubinage, encouraged rather than hindered the vices of their abandoned countrymen who visited the harbours of the country, and often opposed the Missionary in his benevolent work.

The first Missionaries were of the Church of England, introduced by the Rev. S. Marsden in 1815. These were followed by Missionaries of the Wesleyan Society, of whom the Rev. S. Leigh was the pioneer in 1822. It does not fall within our plan to give the interesting detail of their trials and difficulties. For some years the progress of Christianity was slow ; but early in 1834 hundreds were reported to be forsaking their foolish and wicked customs and practices, and to be seeking the salvation of their souls. In February of that year, six couples were married at Mangungu, and thirty children and adults were baptized. When the Bible Society's first edition of the Maori New Testament arrived, the natives, looking at the boxes, said, 'These are full of knowledge. We have often had things come which we thought good,—casks of rum, barrels of gunpowder, and boxes of muskets. What is now come is to teach us not to drink rum, not to set fire to powder, not to use muskets, but to do us good for ever and ever. Our hearts are sick for the word of God ; we desire it more than axes, hatches, or blankets.' In 1835, several powerful chiefs abandoned heathenism, were baptized, and died in the faith. In spite of occasional persecution, and some atrocious instances of murder and cannibalism, the work of evangelization proceeded with wonderful rapidity ; and, in 1840, there were fifteen European Missionaries, and fifteen hundred communicants, among the Wesleyans alone.

Dr. Thompson's mode of dealing with these facts is, to our minds, very unsatisfactory and discreditable, though he is an ardent admirer of missionary zeal and disinterestedness, and a believer in the real influence of Christianity. He says very



beautifully, in one place, that it 'cannot be weighed in the scales of the market. Like musk in a room, it has communicated a portion of its fragrance to everything in the country.' But, as a philosopher searching into the causes of things, he has egregiously failed. Besides, he has wholly omitted to name, except in other connexions, those adverse influences, which, if they did not blight, fearfully retarded the growth and development, and marred the beauty, of the flower of Maori Christianity, just as it was opening all its petals to the Sun of Righteousness. One or two of these we will name here; the other will appear in the following section of our subject.

In the year 1838, the Roman Catholic Bishop Pompalier, appointed by Pope Gregory XVI., landed with several priests, and called upon the country to submit to his episcopal authority. Hedenaounced all the Protestant Missionaries as heretics and schismatics, and claimed jurisdiction over all whom they had baptized; at the same time, discrediting their version of the Scriptures, distributing pictures, crosses, &c., which the people eagerly took and wore as ornaments. Hitherto the teachers of the Christian faith had worked in perfect harmony; but the introduction of this new element of discord produced considerable distrust. It is true, the character of these ecclesiastics was injured by their selfish and worldly policy. Still, for a time, they produced great disturbance, and undoubtedly helped to retard the full development of that work which, up to the period of their arrival, and for some time after, was advancing at so rapid and encouraging a rate. We wish we could stop here; but it seems to be admitted on all hands that the conduct of the first Protestant Bishop of New Zealand, in the first instance, greatly injured the cause of Christianity among the natives. We do not desire to dwell on this painful fact; for we readily acknowledge and warmly admire Bishop Selwyn's pre-eminent merits. His energy, his personal disinterestedness, his many and varied accomplishments, his humane and Christian treatment of the natives, and the prodigious labours he has undergone for their welfare and the spiritual benefit of the colony, entitle him to a front rank among the true successors of the Apostles. We believe, moreover, that he has lived to see and to acknowledge the errors of his early episcopate. Dr. Thompson states this case impartially, and confesses that, on the Bishop's arrival in the islands in 1841, he disregarded the territorial lines which had been drawn between the two Protestant Missionary Churches for the prevention of sectarian strife, and visited every part of the country, standing aloof from the Wesleyan Missionaries, whom he styled schismatics, characterizing their baptisms as the

acts of mere laymen, and enforcing a repetition wherever practicable. The Wesleyan converts were not allowed to partake of the Lord's Supper with those belonging to the Church of England; and the trenchant prelate, imitating the figurative style of the Maoris, 'described the Wesleyan Church as a "crooked branch, and its people as a fallen tribe, who had no scriptural ministers."' As might be expected, a warm controversy arose. The body of Wesleyan Missionaries privately remonstrated with his lordship; but he repeated every offensive sentiment in his reply, which then drew forth an able and earnest public expostulation. It is humiliating to add, that the Romanist clergy exulted in this broil, and made clever use of it for their own purposes, while the good bishop himself was soon compelled to feel the evil and damage of introducing the *odium theologicum* among such a people as the newly-converted Maoris. The spirit of controversy and alienation spread everywhere among the simple flocks, who were for a long time helplessly bewildered; and, whatever may have been the subsequent improvement in the bishop's views and conduct, and however great the benefits he has conferred both on the natives and on his own Church in this distant part of the world, impartial history will surely write that his first acts had a most detrimental and disparaging influence on the spiritual welfare of a people who had been nearly won to Christ before his arrival, by the operation of principles widely different from those to which he lent the sanction of his name. For much of what is equivocal in the piety of the converted Maoris, and for the partial arrest of the process of conversion in these islands, we must hold those responsible, in a considerable degree, who threw down the apple of theological discord among them at the turning point and crisis of their religious history. The sketch which we now proceed to give of the history of colonization in New Zealand, shows how these evils were aggravated and extended by the schemes of commercial adventurers and land speculators.

As already intimated, intercourse between the Maoris and Europeans commenced towards the close of the last century. The first attempt at regular colonization was made in 1825, by the formation of an influential company under the presidency of the first Earl Durham. Sixty settlers arrived late in 1826, and land was purchased near the mouth of the Hokianga. But war was raging, and most of the terrified and discouraged colonists soon left the country. Twenty thousand pounds were sacrificed in this abortive enterprise. Land-jobbers raised a rumour that

the French were about to colonize; and, on the recommendation of the Governor of New South Wales, Mr. James Busby, a well-known Australian settler, was appointed British Resident in New Zealand, 'to protect the Europeans and natives from each other's evil ways, to acquire information, and to obtain influence over the natives.' We have no space to follow Mr. Busby's career of management, which appears to have been anything but successful. Immigration from Europe continued to pour in a stream of very doubtful characters. At the same time, the independence of New Zealand was acknowledged by the British Government, and the national flag hoisted amid ceremonies, the high-life-below-stairs character of which provokes a smile. A very serious quarrel between the races, leading to murder and rapine, occurred at Taranaki. A certain Baron de Thierry, proceeding on a transaction which, as he alleged, had taken place between him and Hongi, when the latter was in England, laid claim to the sovereignty of the country; and there was reason to believe that he was negotiating with Louis Philippe's Government for the occupation of it by France. These, and a variety of untoward circumstances, led to the formal establishment of British authority.

In 1836 the New Zealand Association was formed, for the purpose of promoting the colonization of the country. The schemes of this Association were strongly opposed both by the Church and the Wesleyan Missionary Societies and their representatives; and the enterprise failed.

It was only for the time, however. In 1839 was formed the celebrated New Zealand Company,—one of the most influential bodies, so far as the name and position of its members were concerned, that was ever constituted. Having no hope of Government sanction, they determined to consider New Zealand a foreign country, and establish voluntary settlements in it. In May the ship 'Tory' sailed, having on board Colonel Wakefield, the Company's chief agent, and what was deemed a suitable staff. Two days afterwards they published their prospectus; but were quickly informed that their whole proceeding was illegal, and were compelled to put themselves under the protection of Her Majesty's Ministers. This decided the question as to how New Zealand should be treated by the British Crown. Captain Hobson was appointed Consul, directed to obtain, if possible, the sovereignty of the country, and then to act as Lieutenant-Governor. The Government openly acknowledged that this course was adopted with deep regret, under an overpowering necessity, and in the interests of the aborigines. The prospect of French occupation; the exaggerated representations and

delusive purchases and sales of land made by the company ; and the emigration mania which began to show itself in England, hastened the consummation. Without delay Captain Hobson called an assembly of natives, which met at WAITANGI five days after his arrival, for the purpose of discussing the question of ceding the sovereignty of New Zealand to the British Crown. A great number of chiefs, with their retainers, attended. A Treaty, prepared by Mr. Busby, was explained by the Rev. Henry Williams, a Church Missionary, and the chiefs present were asked to sign it. A long and animated debate followed, in which twenty chiefs spoke in favour of the Treaty, and six against it. The objectors, using the most consummate arts of Maori oratory, argued that it would deprive them of their lands ; and a powerful unfavourable impression was made. At this juncture Thomas Walker Nene, a renowned and noble chief, a Wesleyan, and, in every subsequent struggle, our firm and faithful ally, rose, and, reminding his countrymen of their former degradation, and of the benefits derived from European intercourse, urged them to confide in Captain Hobson, and sign the Treaty. After twenty-four hours' consideration by each tribe apart, forty-six chiefs appended their signatures in presence of five hundred retainers : by the end of June, five hundred and twelve chiefs had signed it ; and, on the 21st of May, 1840, the sovereignty of Queen Victoria was proclaimed over the North Island, by virtue of the Treaty of Waitangi, and over the Middle and Southern Islands, in virtue of the right of discovery. This celebrated instrument has played so conspicuous a part in all subsequent transactions with the natives, and especially in the unhappy struggle now pending, that we make no apology for quoting its brief clauses at length :—

*' Article the first.*—The chiefs of the confederation of the united tribes of New Zealand, and the separate and independent chiefs who have not become members of the confederation, cede to her Majesty the Queen of England, absolutely and without reservation, all the rights and honours of sovereignty which the said confederate or individual chiefs respectively exercise or possess over their respective territories as sole sovereigns thereof.

*' Article the second.*—Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the chiefs and tribes of New Zealand, and to their respective families and individuals thereof, the full, exclusive, and undisputed possession of their lands and estates, forests, fisheries, and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess, as long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession. But the chiefs of the united tribes and the individual chiefs yield to her Majesty the exclusive right of preemption over such lands as the proprietors thereof may be pleased to alienate, at such

prices as may be agreed upon between the respective proprietors and persons appointed by her Majesty to treat with them in that behalf.

'Article the third.—In consideration thereof, her Majesty the Queen of England extends to the natives of New Zealand her royal protection, and imparts to them all the privileges of British subjects.'—*Story of New Zealand*, vol. ii., pp. 19, 20.

Much was said against this Treaty at the time in England. A Committee of the House of Commons pronounced it injudicious; the New Zealand Company affected to believe that it was illegal; but disinterested witnesses, belonging to no party, concur in pronouncing it a wise and beneficial measure. Opinions may differ as to whether it was wise to recognise the rights of savages to enormous tracts of territory which they could neither govern nor appropriate; but the Treaty was the Maoris' Magna Charta; it has been law for twenty years; has been scrupulously observed by the imperial authorities; and, though it may be doubted whether the chiefs fully understood its import and effect, and though some dissatisfaction has occasionally been expressed among them, no large party of New Zealanders has—unless the Maori King movement be an exception—seriously thought of repudiating it.

Our limits preclude the possibility of tracing the proceedings which grew out of this famous Treaty, or the successive steps in the colonization of what had now become a splendid appanage of the British Crown. But it is necessary, even to the most general understanding of the history, and of the present position of affairs, to say something here respecting the New Zealand laws relative to land. The Rev. Mr. Taylor, quoted in an able article on New Zealand in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, tells us, that land is held in three ways by the natives; either by the entire tribe, by some family of it, or by a single individual. The common rights of a tribe are often very extensive. These generally apply to waste lands, or forests, and convey to each individual of the tribe the right of hunting and fishing over those parts. By intermarriages, several tribes are sometimes thus entitled; but, if such land is sold, it is nominally said to belong to the principal chief or chiefs of the tribe. They are the parties with whom the Treaty is made, and to them the payment is given; which is, however, a nominal honour, the money being equitably divided amongst all who are entitled to a portion; the seller rarely retaining anything for himself. The same may be said of that which is claimed by families. Private rights to land are very rare. It is evident that an intending purchaser will find it no easy task to ascertain and define his title in New Zealand. The old notion that has

wrought so well for civilized cupidity elsewhere,—the notion of obtaining the coveted lands of the aborigines for a few hatchets, or trinkets, or a little whisky or gunpowder, given to some bullying chieftain,—will not do in dealing with the Maoris. We are bound to say, moreover, that the authorities have always shown themselves most laudably conservative of native rights. The Maori themselves, however, know how to assert and defend their own. Their knowledge of boundaries is wonderfully accurate; they both value and use tracts of country that hungry settlers call worthless; and defend their tribal, family, or individual rights with the utmost tenacity. To ascertain all the separate interests in land, and to define the sacred places, eel-fisheries, and other reserved localities, is a task worthy of the power of the most astute conveyancer, and requires, as Mr. Swainson assures us, ‘as much time, careful investigation, and knowledge of native law and custom, as to complete the purchase of an English baronial estate.’

We may judge now of the folly of the New Zealand Company’s proceedings from this one fact, that ‘from the ship’s deck Colonel Wakefield inquired through an interpreter called Barrett, an old whaler, the names of such and such points, and then asked the natives if they would sell all those headlands, rivers, mountains, points, coasts, and islands? To which question they answered, “Yes.”’

In less than three months the colonel reported that he had bought, in this way, a territory as large as Ireland. Deeds were drawn up, and signed by fifty-eight chiefs, scarcely any of whom knew what they were doing. What must have been the consternation of one party to this absurd and fraudulent bargain, (fraudulent, because the whole value paid for this territory amounted to less than £9000,) when the new consul announced ‘that the Queen would acknowledge no title to land but those derived from Crown grants?’ Nor can it excite surprise, to learn that the natives looked upon the Company’s purchases as ‘thievish bargains;’ that repeated and bloody affrays took place between them and the Company’s settlers; that, on the settlement of the land claims by the Government authorities, the Company was awarded less than one twentieth of what it professed to have bought; and that, finally, overwhelmed by disaster, disgrace, and debt, it was broken up, and its charter relinquished. That it committed an enormous amount of injustice, no one who reads its history can at all doubt; but nevertheless it was the means of preventing New Zealand from becoming a French Colony, and of directly or indirectly laying the foundations of the settlements of Wellington, Wanganui, Taranaki, Nelson, Otago, and Canterbury.



The settlements of Canterbury and Otago deserve more special notice. The former was founded in 1850 as a Church of England Colony. The first group of settlers comprised, besides the very cream of the labouring classes, 'a bishop-designate, priests, deacons, lords, baronets, doctors, lawyers, and men of high connexion.' They settled on a block of land 2,500,000 acres in extent, on the east coast of the Middle Island, purchased from the New Zealand Company. The Association had obtained a ten years' charter; but, being unable to pay the purchase-money, the charter was wrested from them. The original plan totally failed; but some of the disappointed dignitaries and others of the 'upper ten thousand' having left the Colony, and the exclusive hierarchical idea being wisely abandoned, the hard hands of the real workers soon created the means of prosperity, and it is now one of the most creditable and flourishing settlements in the island. Otago was settled in 1848. It is likewise on the Middle Island, to the south of Canterbury. It was founded by a Scotch Company, for the purpose of promoting the emigration of persons belonging to the Free Kirk. Like the Canterbury settlers, however, the Scotchmen were compelled to admit settlers of other faiths and nations, and the Colony is in a very thriving condition.

It is with considerable regret that we pass rapidly over the history of successive administrations, after these islands became part of the dominion of Great Britain. Captain Hobson died, worn out with disease and anxiety, in September, 1842. The New Zealand Company cordially hated him; but that he should have secured the sovereignty of the islands to Great Britain, while maintaining the good-will of the natives, is an indication both of able and righteous administration; and the beautiful capital of New Zealand,—Auckland,—'the Corinth of the south,'—selected by him during his brief government, will ever remain as his monument. An interregnum of fifteen months followed his death, during which Mr. Shortland, the Colonial Secretary, managed, or mismanaged, affairs. Dr. Thompson's portraiture of this gentleman is not flattering: and, at any rate, his administration enjoys the equivocal honour of supplying the first instance in which, in a collision with the natives, men of the British race were signally defeated. We shall not touch on the details of this 'Wairau massacre,' as it is called. Thirteen settlers were killed in battle, and nine massacred. The effects on both parties were immense. The natives were elated beyond measure; the prestige of the English for invincibility, and even for valour, was destroyed; and several chiefs were anxious to measure swords even with the military. A perfect panic per-

vaded the colonial ranks, and the natives were amused to see the once dreaded 'pakehas' apprehending danger where none existed.

Captain Fitzroy arrived at Auckland in 1843. He seems to have been a very amiable and excellent man, but destitute of the discretion and firmness which the occasion demanded. The perpetrators of the Wairau massacre were unwisely pardoned, without any claim for compensation on behalf of the settlers; and other concessions were made to the natives, which they interpreted as signs of weakness. Conspiracies were formed, at the head of which was Hone Heke, who had been baptized in his youth, but had relapsed into heathenism. Heke attacked Kororareka with a large force, and destroyed it; and, what in its moral effect was much worse, the forces sent by the Governor against the brave and warlike savage were more than once defeated; and, at the close of Fitzroy's administration, Heke and his allies had not come to terms with the British authorities, but were everywhere revered by their countrymen as the champions of native rights, the first warriors who had fought, and fought successfully, against England's trained soldiery, and as destined to be the deliverers of their country from the white man's rule.

Such was the state of things in November, 1845, when there arrived upon the scene a very different Governor from any who had hitherto administered the affairs of New Zealand. Captain, now Sir George, Grey, was transferred from the government of South Australia, where he had shown himself singularly qualified to have the charge of an infant Colony in the midst of a savage native population, and to superintend the training of aborigines to civilized usages. Lord John Russell formed and expressed great expectations concerning him,—expectations which, it is almost needless to say, have been more than justified by his brilliant successes as an administrator both in New Zealand, and subsequently in Southern Africa. He at once put an end to the vacillating policy which had marked the career of his predecessor; and by his mingled firmness and conciliation, and the uniform justice and humanity of his administration, succeeded in subduing Heke and other native warriors; in diminishing the causes and mitigating the character of wars; and in winning the confidence of the aborigines, who were soon convinced that he was their true and enlightened friend. He set himself, with great success, to establish schools and hospitals among them, introduced some of their chiefs into the magistracy, protected them from the dangers of free-trade in spirits and gunpowder, and delighted them by the interest he took in

their ancient songs and legends. On his departure, addresses were presented to him from the nearest and most distant tribes, breathing a spirit of confidence and attachment. Songs and speeches in his praise were composed and recited, and he was loaded with presents of ancestral ornaments. To the British Colony his rule brought peace and prosperity, cheapened the price of land, laid the foundations of constitutional government and parliamentary representation, and provided, in many ways, for making New Zealand one of the most inviting fields in the world for intending emigrants. The chief event of his Colonial administration was the passing of the Constitutional Act of 1852. The following is Dr. Thompson's summary of this Act:—

‘There was to be a general government conducted by a General Assembly, composed of a Governor appointed by the Crown; a Legislative Council of ten members, increased in 1857 to twenty members, appointed by the Crown for life; and a House of Representatives, consisting of from twenty-four to forty members, elected for five years by the people. The franchise to include all British subjects twenty-one years old, having £50 freehold estate, or £10 per annum leasehold estate; £10 household in towns, or £5 household in the country. The General Assembly to have the power of making laws for the government of the Colony, which must be in accordance with the laws of England. A civil list of £16,000 to be provided for, without power of alteration, except with the Sovereign's sanction. The expense of collecting the revenue and payments for land to be first provided for; all the remaining revenue to be under the control of the General Government. All money votes to be brought forward by the Governor. The Sovereign has the power of vetoing all Acts within two years, and the Governor of reserving Acts for her Majesty's approval. The natives to be under the laws of the Colony, but the Sovereign to have the power of purchasing land from the natives. £7000 of the £16,000 on the Civil List to be spent in native purposes, and the remainder in paying the salaries of the governor and judges.

‘By the Constitution Act, the Colony was to be divided into six provinces: Auckland, Wellington, New Plymouth, Nelson, Otago, and Canterbury. Each province is to be ruled by a superintendent elected by the people; the Governor to have a veto on the election. There is to be a council for each province, composed of members elected for four years; the franchise to be the same as for the General Assembly. The Provincial Council to have the power of making all laws for the government of the province, with the exception of customs, high courts of law, currency, weights and measures, port duties, marriages, crown and native lands, criminal law, and inheritance. The Governor to have the power of vetoing all laws within three months. The Sovereign to have the power of establishing municipal corporations, subject to the approval of the Provincial Council.’—*Story of New Zealand*, vol. ii., pp. 206-7.

The natives, by this act, have the same suffrage as the English. It is evident that the political system of New Zealand is very democratic, and especial exception has been taken to the election of the provincial superintendents by the direct vote of the people at large. It has also been thought that the provincial and general governments must necessarily come into frequent collision. It is not our province to express any opinion on such matters. It is certain that no little attrition was produced at the first. Both during the interregnum over which Colonel Wynyard presided, and during the earlier years of the present Governor, Colonel Gore Browne, a great deal of political strife and personal rancour occurred under the operation of the New Act; but matters appear to have gradually settled down among the colonists, and, in spite of the clouds of native hostility which have darkened the horizon, and which now seem to have gathered to a head, and to have assumed a truly alarming appearance, the progress both of each province, and of the Colony at large, has been satisfactory in the extreme. A few statistics, illustrative of this statement, will appropriately close the present section of our subject.

As to population, the increase in the respective provinces, during seven years ending December, 1858, has been equivalent to the doubling of the population in five years! The present European population is 61,678. In 1859, 2647 births of persons of European descent were registered in the Colony, being 792 more than the average of the previous four years, and 1187 more than in 1855. The excess of births over deaths in the last five years was 7471. As far as can be ascertained, there was an excess of immigration over emigration, during the last seven years, of certainly not less than 25,000. The number of cultivated acres increased during the seven years ending 1858 as follows:—In Auckland, 47,058 acres; Wellington, 21,127; Taranaki, 8397; Canterbury, 13,133; Otago, 8305; and Nelson, 12,445, making a total increase of 110,475 acres. In 1857, the imports amounted to nearly £1,000,000; in 1859, to £1,551,030. In 1857, the exports were worth £458,023. 5s. 9d.; in 1859, £551,484. In 1855, the number of letters received and dispatched was 174,407, and of newspapers, 238,522; in 1859, the numbers were as follows:—letters, 707,870; newspapers, 839,385. In 1855, the total revenue amounted to £175,895. 17s. 8d.; in 1859, to 459,648. 14s. 3d. These figures indicate a very steady progress in the several provinces of the Colony, and inspire the hope, to use Dr. Thompson's words, that New Zealand, England's most distant Colony, will, in a few generations, cast a lustre over Queen Victoria's reign which

men absorbed in the turmoil of European politics cannot comprehend.

After this general review, our readers will most likely be prepared for a short sketch of the origin, progress, and prospects of the present lamentable movement among the aborigines, against the interests of the colonists, and the authority of the Queen of Great Britain. Two elements appear in this movement. The first is, the agitation for a native King, who may have co-ordinate jurisdiction with the Queen over Maoris, and administer Maori law. The other is, the combination to prevent the sale of land. It is not easy to determine to what extent these elements are but modifications of the very natural objection to the alienation of native lands. Mr. Boyce, in the article referred to in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, attributes the King movement to the uneasiness of the aborigines at their political nothingness; and in this he is supported to some extent by Mr. Buddle, who also alleges the ambitious views awakened in the mind of Hongi by his visit to England. It would seem that, though this warrior failed to realize his dream of Maori sovereignty, he in effect bequeathed this idea of his later years to other chiefs; and that recent circumstances have revived or intensified the desire to accomplish it.

It is very difficult to form an unprejudiced opinion on the land question, out of which the present fierce contest with the natives at Taranaki has grown, and to which it has reference. Good and judicious Europeans, residing on the spot, espouse different sides. Certain dignitaries of the Church,—including, if report speak truly, the Bishop of New Zealand,—favour the natives. Mr. Whiteley, the senior Wesleyan Missionary in the islands, resident at Taranaki, and who appears to have not only carefully studied the whole question, but to have been personally cognizant of its salient points, supports the Government. Whatever weight is derived from long-continued residence among the natives, from the most intimate acquaintance with their character, laws, and customs, from the most disinterested devotion to their welfare, or, on the other hand, from a calm and balanced judgment, must necessarily attach to Mr. Whiteley's views. He gives a very succinct and clear account of the matter, and we have seen nothing that invalidates his testimony as to the facts. If these are correctly given, our verdict, as to the main issue, must be with the Government. At the outset of the New Zealand Company's career, their agent purchased the district of Taranaki from some of its former inhabitants, then in exile at Port Nicholson. At the time of the Treaty of Waitangi, the

tribal or chieftain right was sold to the British Crown for the sum of £400, Te Whero Whero, or Potatau, (lately elected Maori King, but since dead,) receiving that amount as head of the conquering and paramount tribe, to whom such right had accrued by conquest. After Christianity began to prevail, the way was opened for the return of the Taranakians to their ancestral home; and as party after party, on arriving at Taranaki, found their lands in possession of Europeans, disputes soon arose respecting the occupation of these lands. The Government Commissioner, in settling land disputes elsewhere, had either greatly contracted the boundaries claimed by the Company, or awarded larger payment; but, to the disappointment and surprise of the natives, he decided that the Taranaki purchase was just, both as to the boundaries of the land, and the amount of payment. Unfortunately that decision was made known before the Governor had confirmed it, and great excitement among the natives, and alarm among the settlers, followed. The Governor,—Fitzroy,—acting upon the conciliatory policy which he had at first avowed, and which he seems to have carried to the extent of weakness, reversed this decision. In the case of natives who were in captivity at the time of the sale, and who had been no parties to it, he held that they retained their former rights, and moreover that a fair price had not been paid for the land sold. The limits of the settlement were thereby greatly contracted. Dr. Thompson justifies Fitzroy's decision as to individual native rights; but he holds that the limits of the purchase were too much restricted, and that the justice of the case would have been met by a larger money concession to the aborigines. Mr. Whiteley does not appear to differ from him materially on this point. The next step in the history brings us, however, into contact with another peculiarity of New Zealand land law.

Neither the natives nor the settlers were satisfied with Governor Fitzroy's award. Among the former, in spite of the violence of their protests against the Commissioner's decision, there were found some very ready to sell the lands which the Governor had restored to them. To prevent any repetition of such sales, a league was immediately formed among some of the adjacent tribes. Foremost among the chiefs who joined this league was Wiremu Kingi, or William King. This man had been among the exiles when the Company purchased the land at Taranaki. It was about this time that the movement for electing a native King began to show itself among the Waikatos. From this movement Kingi at first kept aloof, apparently with the hope that his influence at the head of the Taranaki league would



secure him the kingly office in his own neighbourhood; but, as soon as he found it necessary to obtain the aid of this movement for his own purposes, he gave in his adhesion to it. A kind of oath was taken by the members of the league, and death was to be the penalty of violating it. Various infractions took place, and scenes of violence and bloodshed among the natives occurred, which gradually culminated in a native war. But, while Wiremu Kingi was pursuing his projects, there sprang up among his own people and relatives one Te Teira, or Taylor, who claimed possession of a certain piece of land, and proposed to sell it to the Government. This is the property about which the present contest has been raised. The land in question contained the block on which Kingi had erected his own stockade, or *pah*. It forms the key of an important valley, and contains six or seven hundred acres. It is at the south side of the Waitara river. Now, on Kingi's return from exile, Governor Grey required him to settle on his own land on the northern side, and forbade his fixing on the south. But he made friends with Teira, located himself on the forbidden spot, and soon made it the basis of hostile proceedings against the Government. This land, then, was offered by Teira to the Crown, and, on the arrival of the Governor and Chief Commissioner, was publicly sold. Teira's individual right to the land is unquestionable. Kingi's tribal right, if he ever had any, lapsed by conquest to Potatau, and was sold by that chief when he received £400. But, were it otherwise, that tribal right did not extend to the southern bank of the river, where Kingi resided only by Teira's sufferance. At the sale, the usual native formalities were strictly observed; and no native present, not even Kingi, entered the usual protest against disputed sales. Another piece of land offered at the same time, by one Piripi, was forbidden by the Chief Waka, who rose and said, 'Stop that, Piripi; that land is payment for my dead.' Nothing of the kind was done by Kingi; no argument whatever was offered, only a grumbling opposition threatened, and a determination expressed to allow no land to be sold. Indeed, from all we can make out, there is no distinct allegation of tribal right; but simply an obstinate determination to carry out the objects of the league, which do not appear to have any reference to tribal rights, but merely to the prevention by force of the sale of more land. This is Mr. Whiteley's account, and it is confirmed in the main by Dr. Thompson. The Melbourne correspondent of the *Times* assumes that Kingi's tribal right is unquestionable: but the fact that it was sold by Potatau to the Queen when that chief held it by right of conquest, and the further fact that Kingi's ter-

ritory was really on the other side of the river, place that matter in an altogether different light; and we must therefore hold that this chieftain is a rebel, asserting claims which he cannot maintain, exercising usurped power over his own people, and heading an unlawful and treasonable conspiracy against the Queen, whose sovereignty was acknowledged long since by a sufficient majority of chiefs for the whole nation, and by the money transactions with Potatau as it regards Taranaki. He has never alleged any joint individual right with Teira. Should he establish such a right, it would be acknowledged, and compensation given. Often he has been challenged to do so, but he has always refused, saying, 'No man shall sell land to the Government but at the peril of his life; and, if the Government buy, they shall possess only by force of arms.' The sovereignty of the Queen must therefore be maintained; and the honour of the Crown, pledged to Teira by the Governor at the public sale of his land, must be upheld. On the ground of abstract and theoretical right, we have no doubt that the Government occupies a sound position; and it becomes, in such circumstances, absolutely necessary to put down the insurrection, unless we are prepared to abandon this splendid Colony. The disasters and defeats sustained by our troops in this struggle, coming after a succession of similar misfortunes in former contests, have filled the native mind with exultation, and with a profound contempt for British valour and skill in war. The consequences to the Colony may be imagined; and on every ground it is imperatively necessary that the honour of our arms should be retrieved. Negotiation, so long as the rebel tribes are in arms, is out of the question. Let us not, however, be misunderstood. We are on no abstract ground about this matter. The old doctrine of Vattel, which the New Zealand Company sought to apply, does not hold; namely, that native savages cannot establish a claim to more land than they have use for, and 'that their unsettled habitation cannot be accounted a true and legal possession.' For, in the first place, the land law of New Zealand appears to have been as regular, well defined, and well observed as that which secures to our own aristocracy the enjoyment of their patrimonial acres; and our game and forest laws may fairly be compared with the laws respecting eel-fisheries, sacred places, and other 'strictly preserved' localities among the Maoris. And, secondly, whatever may have been the case prior to the Treaty of Waitangi, that instrument binds the Government to secure 'to the chiefs and tribes of New Zealand, and to their respective families and individuals thereof, the full, exclusive, and undisputed possession of their lands and

estates, forests, fisheries, and other properties, &c.' But the formation of a league to prevent the sale of land to the Crown, even when these rights are scrupulously respected, cannot possibly be endured. And it is because Kingi is acting as the agent and leader of such a league, and endeavouring to override all rights whatever by physical force, that we regard him as a rebel, and insist on the effectual suppression of his conspiracy.

If our information be correct, however, the course pursued by the local authorities has been peculiarly unfortunate. In February last, in consequence of Kingi's successful opposition to the Government survey of the disputed land, the Governor proclaimed martial law, in a document, of which the Melbourne correspondent of the *Times* supplies the following translation:—

'By the Governor, &c. Because soon will be commenced the work of the soldiers of the Queen against the natives of Taranaki, who are haughty, (rebellious,) fighting against the authority of the Queen, now I, the Governor, do openly proclaim and publish this word, that the fighting law will extend at this time to Taranaki as a fixed law, until the time when it shall be revoked by proclamation. Given by my hand under the Great Seal, &c.

'THOMAS GORE BROWNE.'

This proclamation is severely, and it would seem not unjustly, censured, because it is made to extend to all the natives at Taranaki, instead of only to Kingi's party at Waitara; secondly, because it is so worded as to amount, in the opinion of the natives, to a declaration of war rather than a proclamation of martial law; and thirdly, because, even in proclaiming martial law, the Governor has exceeded the powers included in his commission. The result was, that the Taranaki tribes at once made common cause with Kingi; and a sympathy which had no previous existence began to be manifested among the aborigines elsewhere. Unhappily, too, the war has not been carried on with vigour. Defeats and disasters, as on former occasions,—as apparently at the commencement of British military enterprises always, everywhere, and against all sorts of foes,—have attended the movements of our troops. The natives in arms are mad with exultation and hope, and the Colony is in the agonies of despair. The Governor is blamed, rather than the military authorities, for these indecisive and unfortunate results. But since the arrival of General Pratt from Australia with reinforcements, a better understanding has been established between the civil and military services, more vigour introduced into the campaign, and a prospect opened up, that the insurrection will, though not without difficulty and delay, be suppressed. Regular

troops fight against the natives at a disadvantage in a country covered with brushwood. Every tree and bush conceals its man; and, if the natives happily were not shocking marksmen, it would seem impossible to subdue them otherwise than by blockade. There can be but one termination to this distressing contest, and it is for the interest of humanity that it should be attained as speedily and effectually as possible; and we trust that then mercy will be shown to the misguided natives, and the land question placed on a basis which may never afterwards be disturbed.

The King movement, though touching and coalescing with the other at one point, and aiming apparently at the same issue, has many points of difference, and must be differently dealt with. Some fine and noble men are mixed up with it, and are actuated by no unworthy motives. Mr. Buddle's pamphlet is a very interesting and timely *résumé* of the subject, setting forth the Origin, Objects, Professed Principles of Action, Progress, Results, and Probable Future of this very remarkable movement. Of its origin we have already spoken. It seeks to isolate a certain tract of territory, to be appropriated exclusively to Maori use, and governed, under a native King, by Maori law. The 'Council' determined towards the close of last year, 1. That no European magistrate shall be permitted to officiate in any part of our territory. 2. That no native shall be imprisoned in the gaol of the Governor. 3. That no roads shall be opened in our territory. A fourth object is to maintain the so-called *mana*, or manorial or tribal right of a chief to prevent the sale of land. But, in addition to what has been said on this point in connexion with the Taranaki league, Mr. Buddle shows good cause for doubting whether the manorial right is not altogether a fiction, recently invented to serve a purpose. The professed principles of the Maori King party are 'Christianity, Love, and Law;' and the Waikato chiefs, with whom the movement originated, and by whom it is conducted, are wholly opposed to violence, and have resisted very earnest entreaties to join Kingi and the Taranaki tribes in hostilities against the Government. At first, the project was looked upon by the Europeans as a childish folly, a harmless dream, in which the natives might very safely be indulged, and which would soon come to an end; but many tribes are now connected with it. Still large numbers of the natives are decidedly opposed to it, and publicly express their determination to remain subjects of the British Crown. The results have been most mischievous. It has diverted the natives from industrial pursuits; agriculture is neglected; mills are falling into disuse and dilapidation; women and chil-

dren are starving and half-naked ; the young and restless spirits have been roused and called out as agitators, and some of them have committed serious outrages ; mutual animosities have sprung up between the races ; exchanges of land which would have benefited the natives quite as much as the Europeans have been prevented ; land which had even been conveyed for the use of the Church and Wesleyan Missionary Societies has been resumed ; and the advancement of the natives in true godliness has been very materially retarded. But the movement contains within itself the elements of its own dissolution ; and it is to be hoped that the authorities will not be so ill advised as to resort to arms. There is a great want of unity among the abettors of the movement, and a very strong party is opposed to all violence. At an evening meeting, when an eloquent orator was declaiming violently in favour of a raid upon the Europeans, one of his hearers walked quietly round and, one after the other, put out the lights, till the place was in total darkness, and the speaker was brought to a full stop. 'Don't you think you had better light up the candles again?' he said. 'Most certainly,' was the reply ; 'it was very foolish to extinguish them.' The meeting at once understood the meaning of the symbolical extinction, and the orator sat down amid roars of laughter enjoyed at his expense. This pleasant anecdote shows that there are men of common sense mixed up with the movement. A large and influential conference between the authorities and a number of native chiefs was held during the months of July and August. At its very commencement, the strongest disapproval of the conduct of Kingi and the Taranaki Maoris was avowed, and several speakers expressed the hope that an overwhelming military force would be sent to Taranaki to put an end for ever to the pretensions and proceedings of such men as Wiremu Kingi, and secure permanent friendly relations between the two races. The proceedings were deeply interesting. On the one hand, the Governor and Chief Commissioner dealt in the frankest possible spirit with the assembly,—especially touching the extreme folly of refusing to sell their land on just and equitable terms, and the illegality of the Maori King movement. On both these subjects discussion was invited, and very freely held. The great majority of the chiefs present were predisposed in favour of the Queen's authority, and of an equitable trade in land between the races ; and the representations and arguments of the British authorities appear to have convinced and satisfied those who had been otherwise disposed. It is most touching and delightful to read the acknowledgment, on the part of nearly all the native speakers,—and they were many,—of the immense obli-

gations under which they lay both to Christianity and to British supremacy. At the close of the conference, resolutions were adopted by the chiefs, on the proposition of members of their own body,—recognising anew the Queen's sovereignty; denouncing the Maori King movement; fastening the responsibility of the Taranaki quarrel upon Wiremu Kingi; severely condemning the murder of unarmed Europeans by the Taranaki Maoris; and thanking the Governor, the Bishop, and Mr. McLean, the Commissioner, severally, for their uniform kindness. Hopes were expressed, which we trust will be realized, that such Conferences may become frequent, if not periodical. In this way, these interesting and noble men would soon be trained to take part in the general legislature of New Zealand,—a most desirable thing; and, on the whole, it would seem that the recent conference has paved the way for giving to the chiefs, ere long, a position in connexion with the Government in all matters affecting the interests of their tribes; for representing native interests in the councils of the country; and for revising the system of purchasing land. If some steps can be taken in these directions by mutual agreement, then we may hope for the cessation of all grounds of quarrel between the races, and for the establishment of relations between them which shall develop the energies, and contribute to the mutual attachment and happiness, of both. Mr. Boyce and Mr. Buddle agree in desiderating some such arrangements as these; and, amid all the clouds that darken, and all the storms that disturb the social atmosphere of this splendid Colony, we think there are gleams of hope that brighter and calmer times are at hand. The native race will probably disappear; but, should our earnest wishes and our not feeble hopes be fulfilled, there will be no cause for regret in that. Already, the amalgamation of the races has begun; and the products of that amalgamation—the half castes—are described as, both physically and intellectually, a very superior race. Legal unions should by all means be encouraged, and the laws of inheritance, and so forth, adapted to a mixed condition of the races. Even now, intelligent and Christian observers acknowledge that the fusion of the races is working beneficially; and we may close with the words of a venerable man, who loved the New Zealanders well, and devoted some of his best years to the work of their evangelization,—the late Rev. Walter Lawry: 'The New Zealanders are melting away; but they are not lost, they are merging into a another and a better class. In this process there lacketh not sin; but Providence will overrule this, and bring forth a fine new race of civilized mixed people, which shall be better for the world, better for the Church, and better for the new race.'



- ART. IX.—1. *Considerations on National Defences.* By GENERAL SIR ROBERT GARDINER, G.C.B. 1860.
2. *Parliamentary Debates on National Defences, and Articles in the 'Times' and 'Army and Navy Gazette' in Connexion therewith.* 1860.
3. *Report of Commissioners on National Defences of the United Kingdom.* 1860.
4. *On the Defence of England.* By GENERAL SIR HOWARD DOUGLAS, BART., G.C.B. 1860.

THE unsettled state of Europe for the last ten or twelve years has invested the question of National Defences with a daily increasing interest. That interest bears upon all our precious things, and most directly upon Peace: for, the placing England in such a posture of defence that all who might be tempted to assail her shall feel that it is hopeless, is, we hold, the weightiest human guarantee for general peace that can be given. Nothing can be more dangerous to Europe at large than such a belief as every shopkeeper in Paris had two years ago,—that could they only land fifty thousand men on our shores, England would be theirs; and nothing more conducive to general repose than the contrary belief forced upon the French, that could they land one hundred thousand men, they would all be shot or captured.

Peace and safety are the end of national defences; disturbance or aggression never, and in no degree. The highest safety is in such a state of defence that, even in a general war, invasion shall not be seriously threatened: this invaluable condition of security England has often enjoyed. The next degree of safety is that in which invasion, though seriously threatened, is not actually attempted: this was realized in the days of Napoleon; but the difference to the nation, between it and the higher degree of safety, involved fearful sacrifices. The next degree is that in which invasion is actually attempted, but not effected: this was witnessed in the case of the Spanish Armada; and here again the difference between this and the higher degree is seriously to our detriment. Below this would come the case in which invasion was effected, but repelled: and of this the Roman, Saxon, and Norman descents furnish no example; they were not repelled, but, once on our soil, proceeded to subdue it. National Defences are simply preventive measures; and, as we believe England to be, of all great powers, the most averse to aggression, we feel that the fact of having her own position so strong, that no suspicion of fears for home need influence her pacific

councils, may in certain crises be of great importance to the cause of general peace.

The events of the Lombardy campaign, and still more the gigantic martial preparations, and the anti-English tirades of the press in France after the conclusion of peace, called forth on all hands the inquiry:—Does France intend to attack England? and if so, is England prepared to meet the attack as becomes her? Is she, as of old, ready to take the initiative, and at once to throw down the gauntlet to any enemy, or combination of enemies, that dares to assail her, and thus to prove that ‘*Britannia rules the waves*?’ Has she, as becomes a discerning and highly gifted nation, availed herself of the liberal means placed at her disposal for the maintenance of her liberties, and the diffusion of the principles of good government among the nations of the earth? Has she fleets at sea, and an army on shore?

We can well recollect,—when, in the early part of 1859, the *Moniteur* fulminated a declaration of war against Austria, and the *Times* at the same moment announced an alliance between France and Russia,—with what anxiety and even alarm naval and military men contemplated the humiliating position in which themselves and their country were then placed; exposed, as the latter appeared to be, to the derision of the most formidable of the great powers, and indebted for her very existence as a nation to their forbearance or want of discernment. Had the combined fleets of France and Russia chosen at that time to enter the Channel as enemies, they might have done so with impunity. Had they done so, and been accompanied by an army, they might have chosen their own time and place for disembarking it; and had that army consisted of fifty thousand daring well disciplined men, England would have witnessed such a scene of desolation and woe as would have been without a parallel in her history.

We had then none of the characteristics of a military nation. The population was unarmed. The present formidable volunteer force had no existence. It is true that in addition to the brigade of guards at London, and a few half drilled dépôts and second battalions scattered all over the country, we had at the camps of Aldershot and Shorncliffe an effective and highly disciplined force of about twenty thousand men, which could in a few hours have been brought into contact with an enemy, and which would doubtless, while they lived, have formed an impassable barrier; but, when the disparity of numbers is considered, their destruction would have only been a question of time, and, supposing our assailants to be well commanded, that time might have been calculated to half an hour. What then, we would

ask, was to have prevented the enemy from intrenching himself, to await reinforcements, in a suitable position, from which he could, in the mean time, detach marauding parties in all directions to harass and pillage the country in his vicinity? or from which, if he preferred it, might he not strike at once for the prize, and run the gauntlet for a dash at London? His very contact with the shore would have acted on the funds and other public securities with electric and most disastrous effect. His presence in the vicinity of London would have created such a disruption and confusion as no pen can describe.

We would wish it to be kept in view that we are supposing the invading force to consist of only 50,000 men; had it consisted of 100,000, the result at that time could not have been doubtful; and if the combined fleets had but obtained the command of the Channel, what, we would ask, was to have prevented France and Russia from throwing a force of 200,000 men on our shores within a few days? It was quite practicable, and we have great reason to be thankful that the attempt was not made. England then narrowly escaped a dire calamity, a fact of which—however much some may attempt to gloss it over—she was, from the peer to the peasant, quite sensible. Indeed, the extent of the danger was so manifest as to impress all with the imperative necessity for an immediate increase to our national armaments. The *Times*, in a series of ably written articles, with more honesty than prudence, laid bare the facts of the case, and proved by demonstration the extent of our danger, and the necessity for prompt and vigorous action on the part of the Government and nation, to avert impending calamities. The other respectable journals, with few if any exceptions, harped lustily on the same string. An Extraordinary Gazette announced a determination to augment our maritime forces, and, as an additional proof of the urgency of the case, offered a high rate of bounty to sailors. Tennyson wrote his 'Riflemen, Form,' which was given to the public through the columns of the *Times*, accompanied by an article full of patriotism, truth, and ability. The effect was magical. In a month England was in a blaze. The din of preparation resounded by day and by night through our dockyards and arsenals; sailors offered themselves and were enrolled in large numbers; ship after ship was commissioned and sent to sea with a rapidity unprecedented in the annals of the country; recruiting for the army, which had previously been in a languishing state, received a new stimulus, and battalions that for a considerable time existed only on paper, were, notwithstanding the high rates of wages, rapidly filled up.

But what added more than all to the public security, what tended most to restore confidence, and more than anything else impressed the nation with a sense of its inherent strength and defensive capabilities, was the rapid development of the volunteer movement. At the outset, some of the most sanguine were doubtful as to whether the members were likely to devote the necessary amount of time to acquire such a knowledge of the military exercises as to enable them to 'act with effect against an enemy, or to co-operate with the troops of the line. In common with others, we had our doubts upon the point'; but they were quickly removed by the energy and sustained zeal with which our amateur warriors entered on their new vocation. The bustle of military preparation was not confined to our arsenals and great towns; it was apparent in every district, and in many a village. At an hour in the morning when the bulk of our population is usually asleep, and in the grey mists of the evening, might be seen, in town and village, men with serious aspects, and arms in their hands, hurrying towards the appointed places of rendezvous. Ball-practice butts suddenly sprang into existence in every direction, while in many a spacious yard, empty loft, and available piece of ground, might be heard sounds hitherto peculiar to the barrack yard. In the same squad might be found the inheritor of one of the proud names of England and the village mechanic; the barrister of eminence by the side of his junior clerk; the grey-haired portly gentleman who remembered the rejoicing for Waterloo, and had for years dreamed of a peace never to be broken, by the side of the sturdy rustic budding into manhood.

In the ranks of some regular regiments might be seen gentlemen, some in grey, some in green, generously and diligently devoting time and means to the acquirement of such a knowledge of the military profession as would enable them to become useful leaders in their several localities: and some of them, in an incredibly short space of time, exhibited a knowledge of field movements, a capability for command, and a general military efficiency, which elicited the wonder and admiration of 'men whose trade was war.' 'A nation of shopkeepers' had, within a few months, become a hive of armed men, who criticized military manœuvres, and discussed drill and tactics, with the easy confidence of old practitioners. The hitherto peaceful soil of England had, as if by magic, been transformed into an immense drill-ground.

On a biting cold morning in the latter part of 1859, a military officer, riding on duty from Aldershot camp to one of the neighbouring towns, thought that he saw the indistinct outlines

of a body of men in an adjacent field; and, on asking a chubby butcher's boy who was trotting along the road, 'What are those figures moving about in the mist there?' received for reply, 'Them is the volunteers at drill, Sir.' 'What! at drill such a morning as this?' 'Yes; they drills every morning and every evening too, Sir.' A few months afterwards the same gentleman had an opportunity of seeing the company, of which the figures in the mist were the nucleus, and could not help feeling surprised at the success of their efforts. They moved in fours, in file, and in line, and went through a variety of company manœuvres, both in close and extended order, with an exactitude, a celerity, and a soldierlike bearing, that would have done credit to old campaigners. This company was then only in the eighth month of its existence; notwithstanding which, experienced military officers who were present on the occasion expressed an opinion that 1100 such men would satisfactorily account for 900 of the vaunted Zouaves of France. This is but one of hundreds of examples that might be adduced in proof of the extraordinary efforts made by our population to acquire a knowledge of the use of arms. We have no hesitation in saying that the volunteer movement supplies defensive materials of the most formidable description, and that it wants but a few 'right men in the right place,' to turn it to account, and develop its capabilities; but we shall recur to this subject.

In looking at the question of National Defences, the number and description of our ships of war, the character of their armament, the number and quality of the crews by which they are manned, the prospect of our being able to furnish the force necessary to man additional ships at the outset, and to keep up the requisite establishment of efficient seamen during a protracted struggle, are all points of grave importance, deserving the serious attention of the country; but more especially of that portion of its population with whom rests the responsibility of sending representatives to Parliament.

It is on all hands admitted that, in the event of war, our fleet must be our first line of defence; and that an invasion, however promptly repelled, would be a national disgrace and a dire calamity, which it should be the earnest study of every one to avert. But, however much we may abhor the thought of an enemy on English ground, and however conscious we may be that such a misfortune should at any price, at any sacrifice, be effectually guarded against,—still we cannot concur in the opinion of those who wish to see the whole maritime force of the realm collected in a defensive attitude in our home ports, or in the seas in our own immediate vicinity. We are as fully

alive as anyone to the desirableness, nay, absolute necessity, of keeping such a force at our home stations as will guarantee us, as far as human foresight can, against the contingency of a sudden descent on our coasts; and which, in the event of its vigilance being eluded, would cut off the enemy's communication with his base of operations, and thereby insure his speedy destruction by the forces on shore;—but, important as this must be, it is not all that is necessary. When England in a maritime war assumes a defensive attitude, from that moment dates her decline and fall. If England will be great, she must be supreme at sea. We feel assured that our country will never wantonly court a quarrel with any nation; but if, in the defence of her honour, her rights, and her liberties, she should be forced into a war with France, would it be becoming, would it be wise in her tamely to await attack? No! From the very outset she should assume a bold and defiant attitude. From the very outset the coasts of France from Dunkirk to Bayonne, and from Bellegarde to Nice, should be in a state of blockade, and her communication with Algeria and her Colonies cut off. From the very outset our ships of war, commanded by men known alike for professional ability, enterprise, and love of country, should roam the Atlantic, the Pacific, and the Indian Oceans in search of the enemy. From the very outset French Colonies and commerce should be assailed, and our own protected, in every quarter of the world. Our peace establishments should at all times be kept in such a state of efficiency and perfect preparation for contingencies, that from the first day their operations could be combined and directed to one common object, and their concentric blows dealt with crushing effect upon the enemy. It should require only the telegraph to be put in motion to insure an almost simultaneous onset on French establishments, armaments, and commerce in all parts of the world. Our commanders at such a time should not be too nice on the subject of instructions, which is with the *discreet* frequently a very convenient and plausible pretext for inaction. It should be enough for them to know that war has been declared. That fact once ascertained, their course is plain. From that moment the officer who does not use every effort, who does not strain every nerve, to bring the forces under his orders into collision with those of the enemy, deserves to have his name crossed from the Navy or Army List. This course, we venture to assert, would far more effectually defend the coasts of the United Kingdom, than the accumulation of the whole of our available naval forces in the home seas.

But it may be asked, 'What would the powerful fleets that France has now at her disposal be doing all this time? Would



they tamely shut themselves up in their ports while we were sweeping their cruisers and commerce from the seas?' Judging by history, we have a right to conclude that they would not; but that, on the contrary, they would sally out and boldly dispute our supremacy. But have not our sailors in all ages beaten the French? and are we not justified in the opinion that they will do now what they have ever done? Let them be—but brought in contact, in anything like an equality of numbers and armament, and we will confidently abide the result. Notwithstanding all the appliances of modern invention, and modern science, in our opinion 'a man's a man for a' that;' and we believe—respectable opinions to the contrary notwithstanding—that man-power must still have a preponderating influence in the result of naval actions. The French would doubtless make a desperate effort to concentrate a superior force in the Channel, if only for ever so short a time; but would not efforts quite as desperate be made to prevent them? Would not their Toulon, Rochefort, and L'Orient ships, in their efforts to join those in the northern ports, be exposed to the hot and incessant attacks of our Mediterranean fleet, and of our vessels scattered along the coasts of Spain, Portugal, and France?—which, if they failed to cripple or destroy them, would at least hang on their rear, or possibly precede them into the Channel, and, forming a junction with the home fleet, present such a combination of force as would satisfactorily account for that of the enemy.

But, to effect this, our officers and sailors must prove themselves worthy of the high trust reposed in them. They must, without a moment's hesitation, without slacking a sail, bear down on an enemy's flag wherever they see it; and unless the force of the latter is so manifestly superior as to render success hopeless, they must haul down that flag, or find their graves in the attempt. England at war, craven indeed must be the British officer who would look on an enemy's flag, and not instinctively bear down on it, even assuming the force of the latter to be superior to his own.

Our navy has been in all ages daring and enterprising, and we believe that at the present moment it would be found even more so than at any former period of its history. Admiral Hope is not the man to save rigging, and lose the chance of victories. We can well conjecture the desperate onsets that an enemy's fleet in the Channel would be exposed to, from even an inferior British force; while at the same time our light squadrons roving through the South Pacific and Indian Oceans, and through the Atlantic from Newfoundland to the Cape of Good Hope, and from the Naze to Cape Horn, would protect our commerce

and sustain the honour of our flag in those seas. We would particularly wish to impress our Government with the necessity of keeping in the South Pacific, for the protection of our Australian colonies and gold ships at all times, during peace or war, a force at least equal to that of the enemy. This force should be commanded by tried officers; it should be in a high state of efficiency, and available for prompt and vigorous action in the first hours of hostilities. Should the enemy, for even a short period, be able to display a superiority of force in these seas, what incalculable mischief might he not inflict on our loyal and flourishing Colonies! It is just one of those contingencies that should be guarded against, both by the mother country and its colonists, with the most jealous care; and when the wealth of the latter is considered in connexion with their known loyalty and spirit of enterprise, we venture to hope that they would in the event of a rupture show their attachment to their sovereign and institutions by raising local forces both by sea and land, to aid in expelling the enemy from such positions as he might occupy in their neighbourhood.

When the recent mutinies in India, and the disaffected state of some portion of that country, are considered, it is but natural to suppose that, next to the capture of gold ships, an attack on that portion of our dominions would flatter the hopes of the enemy, and that he would not be slow in his endeavours to land a force there, which no effort on our part should be spared to prevent. Indeed, we would rather see the coasts of England left for a time without an adequate force for their defence, than witness the landing of an enemy's force in India. A landing in England at the present time, we hope to be enabled to show, would at the threshold meet with such an effectual and determined resistance, as would insure within a very short time the capture or destruction of the invaders; but the case might possibly, though not probably, be different as regards India. There some native aspirant, aided by the scattered remains of the late Bengal army, might join the enemy,—a combination that would seriously endanger our rule in that country. It is therefore of great importance that a naval force, sufficient to intercept any troops destined for this service, should be stationed east of the Cape; and that the local Government should at all times be in a state of preparation for an attempt of this sort, as the time given to prepare after a declaration of war would in all probability be short.

When the loyalty and defensive capabilities of our American possessions are considered, we believe that no enemy will have the temerity to attack them, and that it is therefore unnecessary

to make any *specified* provision for their defence; but the safety of such strategic points as Gibraltar, Malta, the Ionian Islands, the Cape, and St. Helena, should be carefully provided for.

In order the better to insure a supply of good seamen on a sudden emergency, for the manning of our Channel fleet, and the protection of our coasts, the whole of the seafaring population in our harbours, along our coasts, or in our rivers, should be by law required to devote a portion of their time to the acquirement of naval gunnery, and of the use of the cutlass and boarding pike; and on board each sea-going ship should be placed, according to her tonnage, one or more guns, at which the crew should be periodically exercised during the time they are on board. At each of our principal ports should be stationed an experienced naval officer, charged with the organization, drill, and general military superintendence of the seafaring men within his district. Every captain of a merchant vessel of whatever class should, before being permitted to assume command, be obliged to produce a certificate of qualification as to his ability to instruct in naval gunnery, and the use of the cutlass and boarding pike. Every vessel should, on its return to a home port, before its crew is discharged, be boarded by its district naval inspector, or a duly qualified officer deputed by him, who should inspect and report on the state of efficiency in naval gunnery, &c., of the crew; and in all cases where they were found to be deficient, a fine should be inflicted on either the ship's officers or owners, or both; and if the offence was repeated, the master's certificate of qualification should be withdrawn, and until its restoration he should in the eyes of the law be viewed as disqualified for the command of a ship. We believe that in a very short time, and with but little additional trouble, our merchant seamen might be brought to a high state of efficiency in naval gunnery; and we feel assured that the majority of young ship's officers, aided by the numerous old man-of-war's men in our mercantile marine, would be found zealous and energetic in their efforts to insure so patriotic and so desirable an object. It is just one of those manly pastimes that young fellows would soon take a pride in, and they would ere long be as anxious for the warlike efficiency of their men as for their training in ordinary seaman-ship. This is a subject well worthy the consideration of the Government and the country, but more especially of our ship-owners and merchants. In a maritime war the latter have more at stake than any other portion of the community. They more than any are interested in the ability of the country to carry on a struggle vigorously and successfully. They more than any could add to the defensive and offensive capabilities of

the nation, were they honestly and patriotically to lend themselves to the adoption and carrying out of the system herein suggested. It is true that it might occasion a little present expense; but the additional security it would in time of war afford to their property would in the end be a saving; or rather, its effect in preventing war would be a constant though insensible bonus returned upon their payments for peace-insurance; a bonus far exceeding the cost. We are enabled to assert it on the opinion of competent judges, that the commander of an enemy's frigate, of even a superior class, would think seriously before he would assail four or five first-class moderately armed merchantmen, with their crews trained in this way; and even if he did succeed in cutting one off, he would have reason to mourn over his victory, and would have received such a lesson, and possibly been so much crippled, as to inspire him with a respect for this description of enemy to which he had previously been a stranger. The guns, however few in number, should be of heavy calibre, and of the most approved construction.

Our watermen, fishermen, and others, employed in nautical pursuits, on our rivers, or along our coasts, having permanent residences on shore, should, when practice in naval gunnery cannot be obtained, be instructed in the battery exercises on shore; and any licensed waterman failing to attend the prescribed drills, should have his licence taxed, or eventually withdrawn. What an additional source of security would be afforded to the residents in our great commercial ports, were they conscious that every seaman in the harbour was a trained gunner, and that every waterman and fisherman was available to man the batteries on shore! and with what additional caution would the knowledge of such a fact inspire an enemy! The adoption of this system would occasion but little additional labour to the sailor at sea. It would interfere but little with the time or occupation of the maritime population resident ashore, while it would, in the event of hostilities, furnish in every port a nucleus for the formation, on very short notice, of a local naval force, available for employment either on board ships of war, or such other vessels as the Government could place at their disposal; but its highest effect would be the preservation of peace. To the Colonies it would be productive of especial advantage, as nothing short of a superior and well-appointed force of enemy's ships would dare, in the face of such a state of preparation and efficiency on the part of our mercantile marine, to enter ports such as Sydney, Melbourne, or Hobart Town; while, under existing circumstances, an enemy's frigate, running past the batteries by night, might enter any of these ports, and do us an incalculable amount of mischief.

It does not come within the compass or intention of this article to discuss the relative merits of steel-plated and ordinary ships of war, or whether ships of the line, frigates, or gun-boats, should predominate. It is to be hoped that the experiments now in progress, and the committees now sitting, will solve these questions; and should the decision be in favour of iron-clad vessels, we would earnestly impress on the Government the necessity of vigorous measures to insure our being in advance of our rivals in the race of construction. We are as anxious as any are to guard against a reckless and indiscriminate expenditure of the public money; but the most economical thing that can be done is to put our forces in such a position of defence as will render attack hopeless, and thereby permit all our interests to thrive under the ægis of peace. Shame, we would say, on a community with money in its pockets, that would be mean enough to exist as a nation on the forbearance of its neighbours! Shame, we would say, on those who would subject our coasts to insult, our homes to dishonour, and our capital to hostile occupation, rather than contribute out of their abundance the necessary means for the defence of the nation! The community that would do so deserves to be enslaved, and, judging by the history of the past, we have a right to conclude that enslaved it must be. Jealousy or want of concert among its neighbours may ward off the blow for a time; but when a nation descends to this, its existence is doomed, and it will receive its death-blow when least expected. A cause of quarrel will not be long wanting, and, means of resistance failing, the spoilers' task will be an easy one. Apart altogether from feelings of patriotism and a sense of national honour, it must be apparent that it is better to pay even a high rate of insurance than to lose all. How wretched must be the position of the gifted and far-seeing statesman, who, fully alive to the danger of his country, is nevertheless deterred from asking the necessary supplies, from a fear that to touch the pockets of those who, more than any one else, are interested in the carrying out of his views, would endanger his dearly prized and hardly earned influence, and lead to the loss of his place!

However important a position our navy must occupy in our system of National Defences, we must not forget, when the extent of our coast line is considered, the possibility of the most powerful and best-commanded fleets being eluded, and a landing effected. The fleet, therefore, although our first and most important, must not be our only line of defence. We are doubtful—with a vigorous Government—of the ability of any nation, or any combination of nations, to force that line, or in its presence to effect a landing on our

coasts; and we are quite sensible of the very great risk of utter destruction an enemy's force must run in making the attempt: but still the thing is possible, and, such being the case, we must be at all times prepared to meet it. We cannot forget that, although in 1796 and 1798 our fleets rode triumphant in every sea, a French naval and military force eluded the vigilance of our most zealous naval commanders, and reached the coast of Ireland; that Humbert effected a landing at Killala, and that his ships returned to France, and re-appeared off the Irish coast, with reinforcements, in an incredibly short period; or that Napoleon, with the Egyptian expedition, issuing from Toulon, glided unobserved through a sea swarming with our cruisers in eager search of him, captured Malta, and safely landed his army at Aboukir, and that too at a time when ships were not propelled by steam. No amount of vigilance or circumspection can at all times prevent an enemy's force putting to sea; and once fairly at sea, we may, for a time at least, be in a state of bewilderment as to his destination, when it is considered what a number of well-digested expedients may be resorted to in order to mystify our naval commanders, draw them off from the point of attack, and start them on a wild-goose chase, such as Nelson had across the Atlantic in 1798. It is not because an enemy's force does not turn up in the Channel within a few hours after it quits its port, that we are to assume that our coast is not its destination; it may probably keep at sea for a time, in order to draw off or cause the subdivision of the Channel fleet. It then behoves us not only to continue our present state of preparation on shore, but even to increase it. Our great naval ports and arsenals, but more especially Portsmouth, Plymouth, Chatham, Pembroke, Portland, Dover, and the approaches of the Thames, should, as far as practicable, be made impregnable; and when the range of the Armstrong and Whitworth guns is considered, an hour should not be lost in taking Portsdown Hill within the defences of Portsmouth, and studding it with forts of such a description as would, when armed and garrisoned, secure it against any attack. If an enemy's force had but possession of Portsdown Hill for a few hours, they could in that time make the dockyard a heap of smouldering ruins. But with a chain of well constructed, heavily armed forts on that important position, and batteries in the Isle of Wight commanding the north-west and north-eastern entrances, Portsmouth has but little to fear from an enemy, when the formidable character of the other defences, already constructed, or in course of construction, is considered.

In wishing to see our dockyards, arsenals, and other strategic points, securely fortified, as a protection to our shipping and



stores, and as a basis of operations for the armed population of the districts in their vicinity, we are especially anxious to guard against the supposition that we advocate the wanton waste of public money in erecting fortifications along the coast, with the simple view of preventing a landing, or in erecting permanent fortifications and defensive lines in the interior, simply because they command certain approaches to certain places. Fortifications, to be useful, must be efficiently manned; otherwise they are only erected for the convenience and not for the obstruction of an invader. To man efficiently the numerous fortifications recommended by some military theorists, would leave us without an army in the field. They certainly might for a time provide for the personal safety of those within their walls, but the senseless occupation of them would leave the enemy quite at liberty to overrun the country, which is just the thing we want to prevent. By all means fortify, and that in the most formidable manner, and regardless of expense, the manufactories and depositories of our warlike materials, and also any strategic positions that may be necessary for obstructing an enemy's operations in particular localities, or affording cover for the organization, drill, and equipment of new levies; but we must not be persuaded to waste men and money in the construction of works that can be of no earthly use, but which may possibly be productive of much mischief. It is not probable, when the extent of our sea-board is considered, that an enemy will choose the fortified portions of our coasts to effect a landing. We suspect that he will know his business too well for that; but did he, for the sake of doing a plucky thing, attempt a disembarkation under the nose of one of the lilliputian fortresses along the coast, it could not prevent his doing so. A couple of gun-boats, or the smallest frigate in his fleet, would knock it about its defenders' ears in a few minutes. Your little forts, and nicely proportioned round towers along the coast, may vary and add to the picturesqueness of the scenery; but in that, and that alone, consists their value. Neither is it probable, when the number of roads to London is considered, that an enemy would choose the one presenting the greatest difficulties. Indiscriminate fortifications are, in our opinion, suggestive of that sort of prudence which reflects no honour on a nation; and we are prepared to suspect, if not the honesty, at least the pluck of those who so extensively recommend their construction. Powerful fleets, field artillery, battalions, and bayonets, are, in our opinion, the best fortifications, and those most becoming a nation proud of its reputation, if not for the strategic ability of its commanders, at least for the stubborn valour of its armies: let us have but these, and let invaders

come as soon as they like. We venture to assert that those who are fortunate enough to return to their native country, will not be disposed to come back again.

Recruiting for the army, which is intimately connected with our National Defences, must next claim our attention. It is a question that involves so many considerations, both financial and political; and the opinions of those who have given to it their most careful thought, and who have had the best opportunities of acquainting themselves with its practical working, are so conflicting, that most people approach it with diffidence, not so much from the feeling that the present system might not be superseded by a better one, as from the knowledge of the fact that any suggestion involving even a small increase of expenditure, or interfering in even a slight degree with preconceived opinions, is not likely to be adopted. One thing is quite certain,—that it would, in a moral, political, and financial point of view, be difficult to devise a worse system than the present one. It surely must be apparent to all who have had opportunities of judging, that the practice of quartering recruiting parties in low public-houses is most objectionable. They there become acquainted, and soon thoroughly mixed up, with the worst characters in the neighbourhood. Their own conduct and characters, in nine cases out of ten, soon become in consequence so vitiated and depraved, that they are ever afterwards useless as soldiers; and only return to their regiments to add to the number of trials by courts-martial, to swell the sick list, or to aid in demoralizing the young soldiers with whom they are brought into contact. A still greater evil of the system is, that the recruit, on his first entry into the service, finds himself from the very outset associated with the vicious and depraved; and if he happens to remain with the recruiting party for a short time previously to joining his regiment, he contracts such habits as materially influence his conduct for the remainder of his life; in addition to which, the absence of the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men detached on this service, very much detracts from the efficiency of their regiments, while it adds but little to the number of recruits obtained. The service would, in our opinion, be much better performed by the appointment of gentlemen of local influence to conduct the recruiting for the army in the vicinity of their residences. They should, if possible, be old military officers, in the commission of the peace, assisted by respectable and well paid subordinates, men of good address; old non-commissioned officers, if procurable; whose duty it should be to canvass the district to which they belong, and point out not only to the eligible young men themselves, but also to their relatives, the many advantages, both present and

prospective, offered by the service to the deserving soldier. They should especially dwell on the liberal provision made by the regulations for old age and retirement. They should conceal nothing, misrepresent nothing; but in a spirit of candour and fairness lay bare to young men the advantages and disadvantages of the profession. We affirm, with some degree of confidence, that this course would secure a larger number and better description of men for the service, than the dishonest kidnapping system now pursued, if not by the express orders, at least with the concurrence of the authorities.

The regulations of the service, it is true, are at the present moment far from perfection; nevertheless, even in their present imperfect state they present advantages well worthy the consideration of those whose prospects are not bright, and who have not already chalked out for themselves other walks of life.

The course here recommended would at least have the advantage of preventing the admission of men of bad habits into the service, as, during the interval between their enlistment and attestation, the recruiting agents could make the necessary inquiry about them. Should, however, a really bad character get admission to the service, on that fact being ascertained, he should not be permitted to contaminate his comrades and disgrace his regiment, but should at once be discharged, and sent to the place of his enlistment, and the agent who enlisted him should be made to refund the enlistment reward. No greater mischief can possibly be inflicted on a regiment, and no greater injustice done to the deserving soldier, than that of retaining incorrigible characters after they are ascertained to be such.

We are of opinion that the practice of giving the present money bounty, in addition to a free kit, is a bad one. One of the evils arising from it is, that it has created a gang of swindlers, who go about from regiment to regiment, for the purpose of receiving it, and immediately afterwards deserting. Another is, that the young soldier who has not entered the service with the view of defrauding the public, finds himself, for the first time in his life, in possession of a sum of money so large that he is at a loss what to do with it. One of his new associates solves his difficulty by suggesting that he should 'treat the room.' The suggestion is at once acted on, and the consequence is that himself, and several men of his company, are absent for several days; and some of them may thoughtlessly stop so long that they are unwilling, or afraid, to come back, and in consequence desert. A free kit and a sovereign is ample. The saving thus effected by the reduction of money bounties could advantageously be appropriated towards increasing the rewards for good-conduct pay. We believe that, were a soldier, on re-enlisting, admitted

to good-conduct pay, with the prospect of an additional penny per day for every five years' subsequent service,—provided the period of his absence from the defaulter-book admitted of it,—the claimants for discharge on the expiration of their first engagements would be but few.

The question of pay and allowances is one which must at all times have a material influence not so much on original enlistment as on re-engagement. It has of late years been much discussed in camps and barrack-rooms, but more especially since the formation of the army hospital and commissariat staff corps. All ranks, from commanding officers down to the youngest drummers, are unanimously of opinion that the scale of pay and allowances fixed for those corps, as contrasted with that for combatants, is manifestly unjust to the latter. 'Why,' the men ask, and with much appearance of justice, 'should the sergeant-major—if such he may be called—of a few hospital orderlies, receive so much more pay and better allowances than our sergeant-major?' Let the reader but contrast their duties, and he will be constrained to re-echo the question. The duties of the one can be performed by any well-behaved old woman, while those of the other require for their efficient performance a combination of qualities such as are rarely to be found in the same individual. We assert, and that without fear of contradiction, that if there is in the world a document which, more than another, requires reconsideration and revision, it is the army pay warrant; and that revision should be effected by experienced military officers, who have a practical knowledge of the requirements of the service, and not by the clerks in Pall Mall, who are at best but theorists, and whose ability is, in the majority of cases, not distinguished. As the warrant now stands, it constitutes one of the many anomalies of the service. Let a man, with but sufficient experience to enable him to appreciate the relative merits of the case, take, for instance, the junior clerks in the offices of any of the general or garrison staff officers, and contrast their pay, allowance, and duties, with the duties, pay, and allowance of regimental orderly-room and paymaster-sergeants, and he will be forced to the conclusion that the man who framed such a regulation must have had strange notions. We do not mean to assert that the sergeant-major—a term to which, when his duties are considered, we have a decided objection—of the hospital corps, or the junior clerks in the staff offices, are too well paid; but this much is quite clear, that if they do not receive too much, the others receive too little. When it is considered that men are no longer the mere component parts of machines, as they used to be; that now-a-days they read, and think, and, notwithstanding the orders to the contrary, criticize

—and with more discrimination than they usually get credit for —the acts and shortcomings of their superiors; it is of importance that every measure of army reform, but more especially of army finance, should be carefully digested, and that by practical military men, previously to its promulgation; and it is equally of importance that the unjust practice of according superior pay, allowances, and advantages to the semi-civil branches of the service should be at once discontinued, as it has, among both officers and men, created much jealousy and disgust. Those who, from experience of the practical working of our military system, ought to be the best judges, are unanimously of opinion that the pay of the superior non-commissioned officers of the army is too small, and altogether disproportionate to the extent of their responsibilities, and the importance of their duties; and that, if they possess the necessary qualifications for the discharge of those duties, it contrasts most unfavourably with the remuneration that would have rewarded their labours in other walks of life, had they only given their occupations that attention which they must have given to their military duties to enable them to obtain the situations of sergeant-major, quartermaster-sergeant, or colour-sergeants. Those who have long and carefully thought on this subject,—not in Pall Mall or Downing Street, but under the influence of tropical suns, biting frosts, and exposure in front of the enemy,—are of opinion that if sergeant-majors, quartermaster-sergeants, colour-sergeants, and other non-commissioned officers ranking as such, are fit for their situations, the rates of their pay respectively should be not less than 5*s.*, 4*s.* 6*d.*, and 3*s.* 6*d.* per diem; and further, that when the smallness of the soldier's clearance, after paying for rations, messing, and washing, is considered, it is hard that he should out of that clearance be compelled to supply himself with such expensive articles as knapsacks, summer trousers, shell jackets, and hats. If the free kit supplied to the soldier in his first enlistment was kept up at the public expense by periodical additions, it would be productive of much good to the service, materially add to its popularity, and, in a great measure, do away with the numerous applications for discharge on the completion of first engagements, that now so seriously detract from the efficiency of regiments. Some may think that, in an article such as this, we have unnecessarily travelled out of our course in dwelling at such length on the subjects of 'recruiting,' 'pay,' and 'allowances,' &c.; but we are so seriously impressed with the grave importance of these questions in connexion with our National Defences, that, did our time and space admit of it, we should like to have dwelt upon them at greater length, and entered into

further particulars in connexion therewith. When the amount of influence for good or for evil exercised by non-commissioned officers over the private soldier is considered, it is no light matter to have the superior and most influential of that class discontented, and labouring under the impression while the claims of every other class are considered, and their circumstances adapted to the exigencies of the times, theirs, and theirs alone, are disregarded. We would earnestly impress on the Secretary of State for War the necessity of at once making those situations worthy the acceptance and retention of respectable and efficient men, who will be prompt and zealous in upholding in the barrack-room the respect due to their officers, and will in a becoming manner enforce respectability of conduct, obedience to orders, and the general maintenance of discipline.

The time approaches when this must be done; and, such being the case, why not, with a good grace, do it at once? It will cost the public but little additional expense, while it will furnish a powerful stimulus to good conduct, and zeal for the service. In an army recruited and held together in the way we suggest, apart from hereditary pluck, the men would have a direct personal interest in the stability of our institutions, and would, with the more hearty good-will, go at any enemy who dared to assail them. To enable us promptly to meet and repel invasion, it is necessary that we should have in Hants, Sussex, Surrey, Kent, Middlesex, and Essex, a moveable column of 100,000 men, so perfectly in hand, and in such a high state of efficiency and organization, as to be capable of concentration at the shortest possible notice. Of this force 50,000 men, embracing all arms of the service, with 100 guns, should be stationed at Aldershot; 15,000, not including artillery recruits, between London, Woolwich, and Chatham; 5000 at Shorncliffe; 5000 at Dover; 15,000 in Portsmouth, the Isle of Wight, and other parts of Hampshire; and 10,000 between Colchester and the northern banks of the Thames. In order to accustom our generals to handle large bodies with facility, the whole of this force should, as far as practicable, be periodically brought together at Aldershot, where the efficiency and professional ability of generals of divisions, brigadiers, and commanding officers of regiments, should be carefully tested, under the eye of the Commander-in-Chief; and when any were found unequal to the performance of their duties, they should be at once removed, and their places supplied by men possessing the necessary qualifications. It is not probable that a landing in force, with a view to operations in the direction of London, would be made so far west as Plymouth; but as an enemy's detachment might be thrown ashore on the



coasts of Devonshire or Somerset, with the double object of creating a diversion, and striking a blow—should opportunity offer—against that fortress, we must be careful to keep such a garrison in the place as will not only insure it against a *coup-de-main*, but would, acting in concert with the volunteers and other local forces which would rapidly accumulate on the enemy's flank and rear, and interposing between his base and line of operations, make a descent, by anything short of an army, a very hazardous enterprise indeed.

As the great object of the enemy would be the occupation of London, it is not probable that he would make any serious attempt on Scotland, or the northern parts of England; but as he might, in the hope of local support or sympathy, make a descent on Ireland simultaneously with one on England, we must be prepared for such a contingency, by keeping a well commanded force of 50,000 men in the former country, which would satisfactorily account for any force that could be landed there.

'But look at the expense.' We have only to state in reply, that the subject of expense has not escaped our consideration; and that could we with a due regard to national safety have stated its cost at a lower figure, it would have afforded us much pleasure. But if the question of expense must set aside every other consideration, we would ask objectors to think on the cost—and we use the term in its most extended application—of the sack of London. But, after all, when it is remembered that the Mutiny Act for the present year provides for upwards of 150,000 men, the additional expense of the measure we recommend would be but trifling, and bears no comparison to the interests at stake. A few thousand men more or less would but little influence the rate of taxation, while it would materially strengthen the hands of the Government, and enable it in the councils of Europe to exercise a preponderating influence on the affairs of the world. Were the defence of the United Kingdom to be confided to the regular troops alone, we must have felt a much larger number would be necessary; but when the daily increasing numbers and efficiency of its volunteer force are considered, we hope that, in able hands, the force we have named would be found amply sufficient for any contingency likely to arise. But much as we admire the untiring zeal and respectable progress of the volunteers, they yet fall considerably short, both in numbers, organization, and general efficiency, of what we ere long hope to see them. When their present state of discipline is considered in connexion with the difficulties they have had to encounter, what results might have been obtained, had the Government, instead of permitting

them to grope along in the dark, to struggle on alone, but placed at the disposal of each county some zealous, active, and efficient officers, and as many drill serjeants as could be spared from the regular forces ! Had they but done so, the whole of the volunteer officers of each county at an early period of its movement could have been placed under instruction, and thoroughly drilled, after which their respective companies should have been placed in their hands, with instructions to proceed with their organization and drill, under such superintendence and assistance as could be afforded them. By the adoption of this plan officers commanding volunteer corps and companies would vie with each other in the rapid acquirement of a knowledge of military exercises. They would feel their reputation for zeal and efficiency to be identified with the progress of their men, and be therefore stimulated to a vigorous and zealous discharge of their duties ; and, as a natural consequence, we should at a trifling expense and in a wonderfully short period have within ourselves the nucleus of a volunteer army formidable for its efficiency, and capable of any degree of development.

We detach officers from their regiments in the recruiting service, and to dangle after generals in time of peace as aides-de-camp, and assistant military secretaries. We also detach some of our best non-commissioned officers on the recruiting service, where in a short time, as we have already endeavoured to show, they are entirely divested of every military virtue, and where they are not of the slightest use ; while we permit an important national effort, such as the volunteer movement, to languish for want of assistance. If officers and non-commissioned officers are to be detached from their battalions, they surely could not be more usefully or more honourably employed than in aiding in the organization and drill of a force which with a little fostering and judicious management would make us one of the most formidable military powers in the world. We are, however, prepared to hear the officials in Whitehall and Pall Mall exclaim, ' But have we not provided district inspectors and adjutants for the volunteer corps ? ' True, with your usual discernment, you have attempted a provision of this sort ; but, like the majority of your attempts in connexion with a subject that you know nothing about, it only adds another to our every-day proofs of the growing necessity for military men at the War Office. Has your regulation, as a rule, secured you the services, either as inspectors or adjutants, of officers who ever held the appointment of adjutants in the line, or who were ever thought of in connexion therewith ? We are enabled to state that it has not ; but, on the contrary, it has compelled you to accept the

services of a description of men altogether disqualified for the duties to the performance of which they have been appointed. It must be manifest to every military man that the first great object to be held in view, in the formation of a new corps from the heterogeneous mass that must compose it, is the appointment of officers of experience, energy, and efficiency, to superintend the varied and complicated machinery to be by them set in motion. These officers, but more especially the adjutants, should be men proverbial for a knowledge of their profession in all its details; men of even temper, sound sense, and gentlemanlike bearing; men who are themselves zealous in all that appertains to their profession, and who can exercise sufficient influence to infuse into others a portion of that zeal which actuates themselves. In a word, they should be practical thorough-going officers, efficient alike in the bureau, in front of a drill squad, a battalion, or a brigade; and men of this description are procurable, if we will only go the right way about finding them. If the name of an officer employed on the recruiting service, or in the unimportant post of aide-de-camp in time of peace, is permitted to retain its place in the Army List, why not that of an officer employed on the volunteer staff? We confess that we cannot perceive why it should not be so. Line officers, with a character for usefulness and efficiency in their regiments, would gladly accept the appointments of volunteer adjutants, were they, like other detached officers, permitted to retain their regimental pay, allowances, and progressive promotion; and their employment in these appointments would furnish a connecting link between the regular and volunteer forces, and be the means of imparting to the latter a military character, such as it is not likely otherwise to possess. But these appointments should be made, not with a view to the benefit of individuals, as is too frequently the case, but to that of the service.

Let this course be adopted, and in a short time our volunteer forces will be able to take their place either in front or by the side of the best troops in Europe. But, to enable them to act in masses, they should, where practicable, be drilled frequently in battalion, and brigaded with troops of the line; and indeed we cannot help thinking that it would be productive of good, were they as frequently as possible reviewed by the generals commanding the districts to which they belong, and whose head-quarters, unless otherwise ordered, should, in the event of invasion, be the point of rendezvous. In the field they should be posted by battalions in equal proportions to each brigade. When their individual intelligence is considered in connexion with the fact that they are becoming

good rifle-shots, and that large numbers of them will have a thorough local knowledge of the country and ground on which they are operating; they are—as light troops, swarming round the flanks and acting on the communications of an invading army—likely to prove the most formidable description of antagonists that can possibly be conceived.

We have already expressed our opinion as to the difficulties which an expeditionary force intended for the invasion of this country would have to encounter at sea, and as to the best mode of combating it on that element. It will now be our duty to point out what we conceive to be the best mode of insuring its speedy destruction on shore, in the event of its landing. In making arrangements for a struggle of this sort, our military commanders should never for an instant lose sight of the fact, that wherever the enemy may first make his appearance, the capture of London, and the destruction of our dockyards and arsenals, will be his ultimate aim; and therefore any demonstration made by him at any other point along the coast, will be simply a feint for the purpose of drawing attention from the main theatre of operations, and creating a division of our forces. Should the enemy make his appearance off the coasts of Kent, Sussex, or Essex, or at all those points simultaneously, it will simply be the duty of our generals rapidly to make such a disposition of their forces as will enable them to interpose between him and London, and at the same time communicate with each other.

Whatever may be the enemy's dispositions, the strategical advantages must be altogether on our side. Let it be assumed, for the sake of argument, that he has been enabled to throw his force ashore so expeditiously, and at such a distance from any of the positions occupied by our army, as to preclude the possibility of an artillery force and cloud of light troops being rapidly pushed to the front, to pour destruction into his crowded boats, and unformed masses on the beach; in fact, that, with a force of 100,000 or 150,000 men, complete in artillery and munitions of war, he finds himself ashore in England; then we have only to say that he has succeeded in placing himself in one of the most desperate and hopeless positions that an army ever occupied. He would at the very threshold discover, if before a stranger to the fact, that he was in a country which, although rich, and possessing every requisite for the existence of his army, was nevertheless swarming with an armed population, trained to the use of the rifle, and so determinedly hostile that his authority would be limited to the ground that he actually occupied; that to send even a letter a mile beyond his head-quarters, he must escort

it by not less than a regiment of cavalry; and that even then the chances were against its reaching its destination; that, to seize a hay-stack or rob a farm-house within musket-shot of his advanced posts, he must employ not less than a battalion; and that even with that force he would be foiled in his object. He finds that, after defending their property to the last, the owners have, rather than it should supply his wants, committed it to the flames; that uniforms in grey, in green, in blue, and in red, and figures with no uniforms at all, are rapidly hemming him in, and, as he attempts to advance, interposing between him and his only source of supply; that his enemies are hourly increasing in numbers and in daring; that day and night his advanced posts and patrols are the objects of the most desperate and wasting onsets, and that his advanced sentries and videttes are shot down as fast as they are posted; that the ring of a rifle has assailed him at the threshold, and that day and night, without a moment's intermission, it has rung ever since; that his army, under the joint influences of want of rest, want of supplies, and a ceaseless dropping fire from every description of cover, is rapidly degenerating into a harassed, dispirited, and disorganized mass; while the main body of his enemy, having called in its available detachments, is steadily concentrating in his front, and preparing to administer his death-blow.

Talk of fortifying London! The men of England, aided by a regular compact force of 100,000 men, operating in the districts already named, with easy and expeditious means of communication, are its legitimate fortifications. But possibly the enemy, instead of landing his whole force at one point, may select two or three points at which to disembark, and from which he will combine his operations for an advance on London. If he tries that mode of attack, we shall like it all the better, as our army, occupying a single and interior line of operations, will be enabled to concentrate all its efforts for the destruction in detail of the different portions of the enemy's force, commencing with that next London.

Wherever the enemy may effect a landing, if he should succeed in doing so at all, the chances are that our volunteers will be the first to be brought into contact with him, as he will doubtless choose for his purpose a part of the coast farthest removed from our military stations.

The moment his ships appear above the horizon, the volunteers, *however few* in number, and such portions of the population as have arms, and are disposed to use them, should hasten to the beach; while men mounted on such horses as they can lay

hold of, should ride to the adjacent villages and farm-houses, and give the alarm, which should be rapidly communicated by telegraph to all parts of the kingdom. On receipt of the news, each company should be concentrated, complete its service ammunition, supply itself with ten days' rations, which, if necessary, must be distributed for carriage among the members, and proceed by the most expeditious route to the scene of operations. It would also be advisable that each member should, if practicable, have in his pocket sufficient money to provide himself for ten days or so with such necessities and comforts, in addition to rations, as he might require, so as not to be dependent on the commissariat. The volunteers of the maritime counties, one hundred miles from the point of landing, should concentrate, and wait for orders. Those of the other counties should at once move towards the enemy; and such as are unable from any cause to go with their companies, should follow them as soon as possible. Let no one stop behind because he may think that he is not sufficiently drilled: his more experienced comrades will place him within range of the enemy, and then he has but to use his rifle, taking care to observe the effects of the first few shots, so as to be the better enabled to adjust his sight.

Those resident near the point of disembarkation have a stern but honourable duty to perform. Let them do it as becomes honest men, faithful alike to their Queen, their country, and themselves, and fighting, not for plunder or aggrandizement, but for all that is dear to them. Let them remember that, for the time being, the honour of old England is in their safe keeping; and that, however puny their efforts may appear at the outset, those efforts must exercise a great moral influence on the result of the contest. They should spread themselves over as extensive a front, within range of the boats approaching the shore, and the masses forming on the beach, as possible. If they have a gun or two, and some shells, and know how to use them, all the better; if they have not, they will at least have their rifles, and let them use them. They should open their fire as soon as the first boat is within range of the shore, but not before; a single round of ammunition must not be thrown away. Above all things, take care that the first shot is not wasted, or any shot afterwards.

In choosing your first line of defence, let the ground if possible be rough, intersected by hedges or enclosures, and impracticable for cavalry. Defend it until the enemy is within one hundred and fifty yards; then evacuate it and run to the next position selected for defence, which you will find already occupied by some of your rapidly increasing comrades, who will



during your retreat pour between your files a steady, well-directed fire on the enemy as soon as he shows himself. Distribute yourselves quickly among them, dividing the ground as nearly as possible between you, and re-open your fire. Recollect that your lives are valuable, and that the national interests require that all unnecessary exposure should be avoided. Where cover offers, carefully avail yourself of it. It must be your study to inflict the greatest possible amount of mischief on your enemy with the least possible exposure to yourself. Your second position should be more obstinately defended than your first, as it is to be hoped that your numbers will be by this time so considerably augmented that your fire will tell with deadly effect on the dense masses of the enemy.

If you are forced to act on ground that is practicable for cavalry, the utmost circumspection is necessary. You all know how to form close columns of sections. If a sudden cavalry rush is made on you, turn towards the centre, and get into this formation as quickly as possible. While in square, the fire of the standing ranks must be rapid and effective, while that of your comrades, scattered as best they can, under cover of the adjacent hedges and enclosures, will empty saddles by the dozen. When your numbers are considered, you will have a hard struggle to avoid being broken; but stand firm for a few minutes, and the cross and flank fire from the hedges, aided by your own, will drive off the cavalry pursued by the fire of your kneeling ranks, which will strew their path with the fallen. In a few hours you will have but little to apprehend from cavalry, which at the onset constituted your greatest danger. Company after company, as it arrives, cannot do wrong if it gets within range of the enemy, only taking care to choose such ground as will protect its front and flanks from the action of cavalry. When the enemy, advancing in force, presses you in front and begins to turn your flanks, it is time to retire to the next position, which you will find garrisoned by new arrivals: let them, the moment your back is turned on the enemy, open their fire; which, when their advantages of position are considered, will doubtless be deadly and well sustained. By this time your loss may have been considerable, but that of the enemy will have been frightful. You were under cover, firing at masses or clearly defined objects. He has been firing at he knew not what. In a few hours from the commencement of the struggle, some of the regular forces will have arrived, the artillery of which will immediately open on the enemy, while the menacing attitude of their cavalry and infantry will check his forward movement—and to him delay is death or captivity. Your com-

rades of the line will now lend you the aid of their experience in determining the best mode of defending your villages, farm-houses, and garden walls. Next to the precision of your fire, you should endeavour to prevent anything useful falling into the hands of an enemy. Defend your villages, farm-houses, and stack-yards as long as you can; but when you can do so no longer, set fire to them. This will cost you a pang, but it will materially aid the national cause, while to you individually it will make no difference; for, however full you may leave your barns and stack-yards, rest assured you will find nothing on your return. What the enemy cannot use he will destroy.

As the contest has now lasted some hours, it may be assumed that an officer of experience has arrived and assumed the command. Let him but follow the good example you have set him, and all will be well. Above all things, let his policy not be a timid one. Let him keep the enemy fighting, and that continually. By day or by night there must be no cessation. With a proper arrangement of relief, this can be done without depriving the force of its necessary rest. A very small body of men acting in a country with the local features of which they are acquainted will, at night, be sufficient to keep the enemy in a state of alarm, and deprive him of rest. One word more, and we have done. Let no prisoners be seen in the enemy's camp. The man who surrenders is either a traitor or a coward, or both.

ART. X.—1. *The Intuitions of the Mind Inductively Investigated.* By the REV. JAMES M'COSH, LL.D., &c. London: Murray. 1860.

2. *Typical Forms and Special Ends in Creation.* By the REV. JAMES M'COSH, LL.D., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the Queen's University in Ireland, Author of the 'Method of the Divine Government,' &c., and GEORGE DICKIE, A.M., M.D., Professor of Natural History in the Queen's University in Ireland, &c. Second Edition. Edinburgh: Constable and Co. 1857.

3. *The Biographical History of Philosophy, from its Origin in Greece down to the Present Day.* By G. H. LEWES. Library Edition. Enlarged and Revised. London: Parkers. 1857.

4. *The Intellectualism of Locke. An Essay.* By THOMAS E. WEBB, M.A. (and LL.D.), Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Dublin. Dublin: M'Gee; London: Longmans. 1857.

5. *The Works of Thomas Reid, D.D., &c.* By SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON, BART., &c. Fourth Edition. 1854.
6. *A Lecture on the Philosophy of Kant, delivered at Magdalen College, May 20th, 1856.* By H. L. MANSEL, B.D., &c. 1860.

MUCH has been written about Realism. It is a great word in philosophy; one of the war-cries handed down from century to century. Yet is it a word but little understood, perhaps not easy to be understood. It has come, moreover, to be applied in recent years, and in this country, to a philosophical system so entirely different from all that was understood by the word during the long centuries of its earlier use, that to obscurity is now added a new confusion, and it might appear sometimes to be employed in contrary senses. Plato has been esteemed the father of Realism. Assuredly the late Sir W. Hamilton could not be mistaken by any for a follower of Plato, whose philosophy seems scarcely to have in the slightest degree tinged that of the Scottish Professor. Yet Hamilton is recognised as the great oracle of the modern or 'natural' Realism. Kingsley speaks, in one of his Lectures on Alexandria and her Schools, of the Teutonic transcendentalists of our day as the 'great German Realists.' Schleiermacher was deeply imbued with Platonism; and Schelling has been aptly called the Plotinus, Hegel the Proclus, of our time. So strictly have the German transcendentalists been identified with Platonic and Neo-Platonic forms of thought. Yet one of the most celebrated achievements of the great champion of 'natural' Realism was his scientific refutation of the principles and pretensions of the transcendental philosophy. It would seem, then, that the Platonic philosophy and the metaphysics of the Reid-Hamilton school are essentially opposed to each other; that the transcendentalism of Germany is in irreconcilable antithesis to the 'common-sense philosophy' of the Scotch school; and yet all the adherents of these different schools claim to be Realists.

The one particular in which they agree would appear to be this. They all maintain that man can attain to some *knowledge*, whether more or less limited, whether more or less inward, of himself and the universe. They agree, that is to say, in opposing a philosophical scepticism; and also that form of Idealism, if such there be, which affirms that while we have cognizance of ideas, as such, we are absolutely ignorant of all beyond; not even knowing whether there be anything beyond to which our ideas correspond, or not. The

system of Berkeley, let it be observed, was not such an Idealism as this. The good Bishop had made up his mind that there was *nothing* behind our ideas—that our ideas *are* the outer universe—outer, that is, in the sense of lying out of our own personality. His ‘absolute Idealism’ was therefore a system of ‘thoroughgoing Realism.’ He believed that in perception we know all that there is to know, as respects the outer world. Sir W. Hamilton’s words may be quoted in illustration of this remark. ‘The general approximation of thorough-going Realism and thorough-going Idealism here given, may, at first sight, appear startling. On reflection, however, their radical affinity will prove well grounded. Both build upon the same fundamental fact—that the extended object immediately perceived is identical with the extended object actually existing;—for the truth of this fact, both can appeal to the common sense of mankind;—and to the common sense of mankind Berkeley did appeal not less confidently, and perhaps more logically, than Reid.’ Hence we can easily understand how a thinker like Reid should in the first instance have given his adhesion to Berkeleyism. It was Hume’s attempt to apply to the inner sphere of personal being and action arguments analogous to those which Berkeley had employed in regard to the external universe, and thus to resolve the identity and integrity of our moral and responsible selves into a mere phantasmagoric succession of impressions and ideas, which forced Reid to exchange the ground of pure Idealism for that of faith in the actual existence of an outer world, as a datum of consciousness not less clear and authoritative than that which assures us of our own moral identity and responsibility.

In what general sense the various schools already referred to may be called *Realist* has just been stated. But it is needful, also, to signalize the difference which distinguishes them, as Realists, into two widely disparate classes. The Scotch philosophers are designated ‘natural,’ Germans are transcendental, Realists. The former hold that by intuitive knowledge and assurance we take cognizance of ourselves and of the outer world, as existences, and as possessed of certain properties or qualities; but they maintain that we have *no knowledge* of anything beyond this. The latter, on the contrary, reject the material world, as a separate and independent existence; thus far, they are as absolute Idealists as Berkeley. They teach that the outer world is but a reflection from our inner man; that our spirits paint, exhale, create, the changeful, glowing, chequered, universe. But, beyond this, they maintain, as

Berkeley did not, that man has transcendental faculties whereby he may stand face to face with the essential, have insight into the Divine, and fathom the eternal. This is their Realism, their transcendental Realism; which closely resembles, as we shall presently see, the Realism of ancient philosophy.

When Philosophy, passing beyond the crude physical speculations of the earliest schools, first applied itself to the steadfast contemplation of the problem of being and the mystery of perception, it speedily developed into a doctrine of sensational scepticism. Democritus identified thought with sensation, and taught that man could know nothing beyond appearances. He was an atheistic unbeliever. The Idealism of Parmenides dwelt much upon the shadowy and delusive character of human knowledge, especially sense-knowledge, but at the same time held that reason was a source of truth and certainty. His follower, Zeno of Elea, became an utter sceptic. He taught that man is entirely sense-bound, and that our senses only delude us with unreal shows. As is well known, he denied the reality of motion. This was the ascendant philosophy before the rise of Socrates. Demoralization presently followed scepticism, as must ever be the law. Then came the reign of the Sophists, those corrupters, especially at Athens, of the Hellenic youth; or at least, if this may better please Mr. Grote, the exponents of the sceptical and selfish system of ethics and maxims of social morality, which were current at the time.

The philosophy of Socrates was a protest against the fashionable scepticism with its attendant demoralization. Venerating Parmenides, admiring Zeno, himself, too, well aware that the senses often appear to mislead, and deeply convinced that truth is not commonly to be found on the surface of things, but must be searched for, as hidden treasure, Socrates yet held fast to the conviction that beneath all changeful or illusive appearances there lay a stable and eternal truth, and especially that moral truth is to a good extent within the reach of all men, and ought to be honestly and reverently sought after by every man. He confounded sceptics and sophists at their own logical play, showing that whatever difficulties might beset faith, more and greater difficulties attended unbelief. One of his greatest lessons was that a moral element of character—candour, humility, persistent love of truth, distrust of one's own preconceptions and prejudices—is above all things necessary to the attainment of any clear or certain knowledge. He singularly combined a restless scepticism of intellectual habit, especially as regarded fashionable forms of philosophy and

current modes of thought and expression, with an immovable conviction of the truth and certainty of the pure intuitions of human reason. He questioned the dicta of philosopher, criticized the current traditions of his country's mythology, and, as to some things and in certain respects, even disallowed what seemed to be the testimony of his senses; but he stood firmly by the old maxims and landmarks of moral rectitude, and upheld the reality of moral beauty and truth. His faith was too deep and pure for his country and age: so while the conformist sceptics and sophists flourished in popular esteem, and completed their course in peace, he was held up to public contempt and laughter by the great master of comedy, was branded by legal process as an unbeliever and as a perverter of his country's youth, and died a martyr to the cause of genuine philosophy, and of a faith which lies deeper than creeds. Socrates, then, was an Ethical Realist.

Socrates, however, is scarcely known to us except through the writings of his great pupil; nor is it by any means easy to ascertain, in most of Plato's dramatic presentations of his master, how much of what we read is to be taken as a fair rendering of the genuine doctrine of the Master, and how much belongs to the inventive and speculative genius of the illustrious disciple. Considerations of general congruity and verisimilitude, however, together with the evidence furnished by Xenophon, as to the character and opinions of the older philosopher, whom he as well as Plato had attended, and some hints of Aristotle, enable us, on the whole, to discriminate with tolerable certainty between the original Socratic philosophy and the Platonic additions. The Master was predominantly ethical; he had no positive ideal theory of his own; all in the Platonic Dialogues which relates to the supersensible and supercelestial ideal world, and the associated doctrine of reminiscence, we may fairly take to be properly Platonic. With so misty-luminous a nebula has Plato invested the clear practical teaching of his master, who probably was never over-subtle except for the purpose of exploding over-subtleties. It is Plato's doctrine of *ideas* which constitutes his peculiar *Realism*, and in virtue of which he has been considered the father of the realistic philosophy.

Plato, still in opposition to the sceptical school, taught that the genuine philosopher, the truth-seeker, purged of self-begotten and world-begotten errors of prejudice and opinion, might ascend beyond the sphere of sense-perception and opinion to the direct intuition of that supercelestial world in which



dwelt the essences and originals of all things true and beautiful. This supercelestial sphere, the home of the gods, and of the purified and enfranchised philosophic spirit, he held to be spiritual, eternal, and immutable, such as might be known by the pure intelligence, but was separate from matter or sense; containing, however, the original and archetypal 'ideas,' of which all the things of time and sense were but the imperfect embodiment and shadowy copies.\*

To a plain common-sense understanding nothing can appear more unreal than this world of pure realities, nothing more shadowy than this kosmos of eternal and substantial essences, nothing more unintelligible than this 'intelligible' universe. To a humourist this Platonic dream presents a tempting mark, as the readers of *Hudibras* will have noted.

Nevertheless, this same 'intelligible world' has kindled the love and desire of many a high-soaring or deeply-musing spirit. Philo the Jew welcomed it as a sacred revelation, incorporated it with his theosophy, fancied that he found it everywhere in the Pentateuch, and naturalized it among the dreams of the Alexandrian schools for ages to come. Clement and Origen inherited Platonic Idealism as part and parcel of the Alexandrian traditional philosophy. Being itself founded (at least, in part) on verbal illusions, it fixed its congenial home in that great city, whose philosophy, from first to last, was a mere product of logic and rhetoric, working upon abstract terms, 'a dream of words,' characterized by 'an entire absence of speculation or of common sense,' where 'nothing was understood truly; and facts, the only source of real knowledge, were neglected.'

Through Synesius, who, though a Bishop, was but a semi-Christian, and Boethius, who was three parts of a heathen philosopher, and others known and unknown, this airy romance of philosophy became a part of the heritage of middle-age mysticism, though Christianized in its seeming and the blazonry of its names and titles. And, on the revival of letters and philosophy, it found enthusiastic believers and expositors in accomplished Italians and heroic and high-bred Englishmen. It enraptured poets, and soothed the eager spirits of warriors and statesmen. It tinged the phraseology, and to some extent inspired the visions, of Dante; it fascinated the spirit of our

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\* The general reader will note, what to the student of philosophy is well known, that the Platonic *ideas*, corresponding to the *essential forms* of the later Aristotelians, have no analogy with the 'ideas' of Locke, or Berkeley, or modern psychology in general. The two stand in contrast with each other.

own chivalrous Sidney, it occupied the busy thoughts of Raleigh, it over-canopied the inner world of Spenser. Its influence may even be traced in the language of Milton, and its ideas finely metamorphosed reappear in his sweet and stately verse.

Doubtless, the noblest description of Plato's intelligible world, as conceived by a Platonic votary, is that which Sir William Hamilton has, in various places, quoted with so high praise; 'the splendid verses of Fracastorius—a poet hardly inferior to Virgil, and a philosopher far superior to his age: '—

'An nescis, quæcunque heic sunt, quæ hâc nocte teguntur  
Omnia res prorsus veras non esse, sed umbras,  
Aut specula, unde ad nos aliena elucet imago?  
Terra quidem, et maria alta, atque his circumfluit aër,  
Et quæ consistunt ex iis, hæc omnia tenuis  
Sunt umbræ, humanos quæ tanquam somnia quædam  
Pertingunt animos, fallaci et imagine ludunt,  
Nunquam eadem, fluxu semper variata perenni.  
Sol autem, Lunæque globus, fulgentiaque astra  
Cætera, sint quamvis meliori prædita vitâ,  
Et donata ævo immortalis, hæc ipsa tamen sunt  
Æterni specula, in quæ animus, qui est inde profectus,  
Inspiciens, patriæ quodam quasi tactus amore,  
Ardescit. Verum quoniam heic non perstat, et ultra  
Nescio quid sequitur secum, tacitusque requirit,  
Nosse licet circum hæc ipsum consistere verum  
Non finem; sed enim esse aliud quid cujus imago  
Splendet in iis, quod per se ipsum est, et principium esse  
Omnibus æternum, ante omnem numerumque diemque;  
In quo alium Solem atque aliam splendescere Lunam  
Adspicias, aliosque orbes, alia astra manere,  
Terramque, fluviosque alios, atque aëra, et ignem,  
Et nemora, atque aliis errare animalia silvis.'

Of the relation of the 'ideas' of that world—according to Plato, be it remembered, the only true realities—to the sensible existences of the seeming world, the philosopher endeavours to convey a notion by his well-known illustration of the prisoners in the cave, contained in the seventh book of the *Republic*. The illustration is certainly apt and impressive. The bound and prostrate captives, powerless to emerge from the underground prison, or even to turn themselves and see whence come the rays of light which strike upon the cavern-wall before them, or what, in reality, are the persons whose grotesque and distorted shadows wax and wane, and come and go, upon its duskily illumined sur-

face, and how they are actually employed;—can a more striking and suggestive allegory be conceived, to express the helplessness of sense-bound men striving, in this world of shadows, to attain to reality and essential truth? Nevertheless, be it observed, Plato's was not a system of utter scepticism; there was the light, there were the shadows—shadows indeed, yet, because shadows, in some sort the images of realities, from the close study of which, in their changes and movements to and fro, some fair knowledge might at length be attained, at least by a few, even during their period of bondage, of the true forms, the mutual relations, the powers and qualities and purposes of the unseen originals.

It will be seen that Plato's philosophy was an attempt to reconcile the sensationalist scepticism of earlier philosophers with a deep ground of realism and faith. His doctrine of the real supersensible existence of essences, by participation of which all sensible existences and qualities have their being, though in itself a mere verbal illusion, playing on abstract terms, laid the foundation of the scholastic doctrine of the real and independent existence of *general terms*, or abstract ideas, which was the fundamental tenet of the Realism of the middle-age doctors, and which was opposed by the Nominalism of those who held such *genera* or general terms to be the mere *names* of classes, designating no distinct entities.

The father of logical science made short work with the grand Platonic dream. His refutation of his master's ideal theory was easy and complete. Pierced here and there by a few decisive touches, the bubble burst, the painted vapour collapsed. All that was left was but a trifling modicum of sober old-fashioned truth. Aristotle himself, however, was no sceptic. He believed that truth was an heritage for man. Sir William Hamilton seems to be clearly justified in saying that Aristotle held to certain primary facts, beliefs, or principles, true but undemonstrable, themselves absolutely certain, and the fountains of certainty to all else; that he 'found knowledge on belief, and the objective certainty of science on the subjective necessity of believing.' (*Hamilton's Reid*, p. 771.) He knew, indeed, that our senses might deceive us, if we were not wary; but he held that there was no necessary or fundamental deception, and that our Reason would enable us to harmonize and correct the apparent discrepancies of our senses. Plato had taught that the knowledge of being might be attained by the mind of man, when, freed from encumbrances, intrusions, and prejudices, it had learnt to put its questions simply and clearly, and to connect and co-ordinate truth with truth. Aristotle believed that a

science of truth, and an art of thinking, was possible, by means of which men might certainly attain to truth, passing, by induction, from the unknown to the known, from the individual to the general, from the particular to the universal, and passing, by deduction, from truth known to truths unknown, in widening range and increasing number. Of some of the chief features in the modern inductive logic, it cannot be doubted that he had an anticipation; while, almost until this day, his syllogistic logic has ruled unrivalled. Doubtless, he overrated, indeed altogether misunderstood, the value of his deductive logic, which, it is now well known, can be no instrument in itself of direct or proper discovery. He miscalculated in supposing that, by means of his logic, he, or any after him, could pierce the central mystery of Causation, or discover the nature of the Uncaused Cause of All, or even of the Soul of Man. But the wonder is, not that he in some respects misdirected his aim, and overvalued his logic and categories, but that he saw so far, thought so deeply, generalized so truly and so largely, that he was no less supereminent as a naturalist than as a logician, being a most diligent and philosophic observer, and that he went so far forward in his own person, in the way of profound and sober thought, that nearly eighteen centuries were to pass before the world had advanced materially beyond the position to which he had attained.

He showed his wisdom in what he made no attempt to do, as well as his intellectual power in what he accomplished or essayed. He seems scarcely to have attempted to speculate as to the laws and *rationale* of perception, or as to the innermost essence of things sensible and spiritual. Herein he did but leave that dark and unknown which Plato, with much grandeur of words, had declared to be unknown. We miss, indeed, when closeted with the Stagirite, that sublime feeling of mystery, and that sense of the littleness of human knowledge, which seem to hang about the groves of the Academe, as, in company with the eloquent disciple of Socrates, we pace its shady avenues; but the reason is, that Aristotle has a scientific method which he systematically unfolds, a newly discovered instrument of thought and progressive knowledge, which he is intent upon explaining and applying.

Plato's philosophy lay in ruins; Aristotle's logic was powerless to pioneer a way into the *adytum* of essential and unchanging reality. Scepticism, calm, cold, clear, and tolerant, no longer restless and insolent, revived in the philosophy of Pyrrho. In natural sequence Epicurus, himself, in fact, a sensationalist sceptic of the school of Democritus, appeared with his merely practical philosophy. He abjured speculation, and taught that

men should simply seek to enjoy their existence, and make the best of life. He was himself temperate, and prescribed temperance to his followers. His school was not, therefore, a sty, nor, indeed, was his in any respect a directly sensual philosophy; but at its root lay a placid selfishness which easily developed into heartless vice.

Then, again, men woke to nobler aims. Stoicism, the germs of which may be found in the writings of Plato and Aristotle, revolting against Scepticism, maintained that man has within himself the test of truth and the power of moral self-control, fell back for defence on our instincts and 'common sense,' and contended stoutly, and even nobly, against the enervating influences of Epicurean unbelief. Stoicism was emphatically a system of Realism, not, however, so far as its Metaphysics were concerned, of Platonic Realism, but of sturdy common-sense Realism. Like Reid's philosophy, with which it exhibits some striking analogies, it was rather an indignant protest against Scepticism, than a scientific refutation of it, or a doctrine complete in itself. But its main glory was its Ethics; its principle of duty and self-abnegation, its high ideal of virtue, the honour it rendered to moral excellence. From the days of the later Zeno, its founder, to those of Marcus Antoninus, the philosophy of the Porch numbered among its votaries many illustrious names,—more, indeed, than any other philosophy. Zeno is said, by a distinguished historian of philosophy, to have had 'a Roman spirit. In him the manly energy and stern simplicity which were to conquer the world; in him the deep reverence for moral worth, which was the glory of Rome, before, intoxicated with success, she sought to ape the literary and philosophical glory of old Hellas.' In Rome, accordingly, Stoicism found a congenial home, and there she gained her most illustrious votaries. The names of Cato, Brutus, Seneca, and Antoninus, will occur to every student.

Stoicism, however, was scarcely adapted to the requirements of the Greek mind. Its God was Fate; its Virtue was cold, stern, and proud. Moreover, and especially, it was lacking in logical subtlety and refinement. Indeed, except as a moral discipline, it could not but appear defective to the keen and cultured student of nature's mysteries. To such a Roman, for example, as Cicero, Stoicism seemed but a partially developed philosophy. Nor did it suit the general temper of the times. Liberty was dead in Greece, was dying in Rome. Luxury had enervated the moral tone of the better classes; there were few of any rank, who were not mere time-servers; civilization had arrived at the stage of polished degeneracy; the Hellenic races

were sunk in profligate corruption ; Rome was hasting to surpass the profligacy of Athens or Corinth. Scepticism was partly the cause and partly the effect of this state of things. Only a sceptical philosophy could be congenial to the temper of such times. Henceforth, until after the rise of Christianity, Stoicism for the brave protesting few, who, in Rome at least, held to ancient morality and pristine faith, and Scepticism for the time-serving or pleasure-loving many, were the only possible philosophies. Platonic transcendentalism was as little to the taste of the age as Stoicism, even if it had not been exploded by the logic of Aristotle. It is true that a school, the New Academy, which professed to call Plato master, flourished for two or three centuries before Christ ; but Arcesilaus and Carneades, with their followers, accepted the sceptical part of Plato's philosophy, rejecting his idealistic Realism. Philosophers might call themselves by different names, Pyrrhonists, or Epicureans, or Platonists, but the two latter classes, no less than the first, were sceptics, while all were almost equally Epicurean in temper and practice. That was perhaps the most heartless age the world has ever known.

From a Hebrew root philosophy was to derive a new life. Philo the Jew, who strove so diligently to Platonize Moses, may fairly be regarded as the father of new Platonism ; which, however, was not matured into a system until after the new life of Christianity (this, too, from a Hebrew root) began to quicken faith and intellect and action beyond as well as within its own immediate sphere. The faith of Christianity, by the law of action and reaction, was the means of developing an antagonistic faith ; the theology of Christianity, of calling forth an antagonist theosophy ; Platonism was so adapted and transformed as to simulate the sublimities of the Christian revelation ; the Sun being now in the heavens, the exhalations of a sophistical philosophy produced a mock sun. Thus, especially between the third and the fifth century after Christ, a revised Platonism, including in itself a Realism more transcendental than that of Plato himself, rose to the ascendant, invested with a factitious grandeur, and encircled by a splendour not its own. The loftiness of Plato's aims, the vague sublimity of his dreams, his sense of the shadowy nature of things temporal and of the poverty and feebleness of merely natural knowledge, and his passionate aspirations after the 'things unseen and eternal,'—uncreated truth, beauty, and goodness,—together with his doctrine that only the humble and pure-minded spirit could ever attain to such a sight of essential and spiritual realities as that for which he longed—these characteristics of Plato's philosophy fitted it



more than any other to assimilate to itself, in some sort and degree, the theological, and still more largely the ethical, doctrines of Christianity.

Be it observed, however, that the Alexandrian Plotinism was almost entirely destitute of true philosophic originality. Its teachers commented on the writings of Plato, which were its sacred books, and borrowed from the sacred books of Christianity, but were not themselves philosophical speculators. They were logicians rather than philosophers; they expounded and developed, but did not venture far in the region of independent thought. They applied Aristotle's science to unfold the Idealism of Plato.

So far as regards the Platonic Realism, the Alexandrians advanced this doctrine to its utmost limits by hardly accepting what by a subtle, yet perhaps inevitable, deduction seemed to be its logical consequence. Plato had maintained that man may hope to know Being, as such, and in itself; that, under favourable conditions and after the requisite discipline, human reason has the power to see into the very truth and essence of things; that, in abstract thought, men may stand face to face with naked being. But here the question naturally arose,—How can a finite spirit know, intimately and as it is in itself, that which lies outside of the sphere of its own being? Can I be said to know anything, unless I know it in its essence and all its properties, from the centre all round to the circumference of its being? To know another being in itself, must I not go out of myself, and become that which I am so to know? Can I, whilst still retaining my separate identity, posit myself at the centre of another sphere of being, and make all its properties and affections (as it were) my own? Must not such a power as this, if I possess it, imply, if not actual, yet potential omniscience,—a power of entry into all essences and mysteries, a power of assimilating to myself all knowledge and experience, and of making all truth, nay, ultimately, all properties and energies, my own?

The Neo-Platonists did not shrink from these consequences. Making no attempt to untie these knots, they boldly cut them. They affirmed that to know is to be; and they maintained the potential omniscience of mind. Nay, at last the theurgic masters of the school went all lengths, and affirmed the virtual omniscience of spirits. 'Thus was taught by Plotinus,' says M. Matter, the learned historian of the Alexandrian school, 'the famous system of the identity of Being and of Thought, the greatest temerity of our age.' Thus was the Platonic Realism carried to its utmost height; and, as thus developed, it stood forth, like its modern duplicate, the 'German Realism,' as

either a naked absurdity or express and complete Pantheism. It was in fact the latter. 'Plotinus thought, that the Reason of which each man is conscious, is not a faculty of the individual soul, but a ray or flash of the universal Reason; that each man possesses it entire and indivisible, and yet that it is bounded by the personality of no man; that it is at once common and particular; diffused throughout the universe, and yet entire in each soul, in each life, in each impulse, in each act.'

Let us here remark in passing that the difficulty which led the Neo-Platonists to identify thought and being must, as it would seem, in some form be encountered by any articulately developed system which maintains that we have *immediate knowledge of Being*, as distinguished from *necessary belief*. At any rate an analogous difficulty besets the Natural Realism of Sir W. Hamilton. Sir William held that an object can only be known where it is, and that the mind to know an object must be present with that object. He taught, moreover and accordingly, that to know an extended object 'in itself as existing,'—therefore to know matter under any form of it,—the soul must itself be present throughout the extent of the object known. Hence he is compelled to maintain that the mind itself is in fact extended over the body, that it is especially present at the periphery of the nerves, where it comes into actual contact with the bodies perceived, that it is only then and there that we have perceptions, and that, accordingly, the old Democritean principle is true,—that 'all our senses are modifications of touch.' (*Reid*, pp. 302, 821, 861, 319, 320, 247.) He asserts that we thus become conscious 'of mind and matter at once.' He even, in his *Lectures on Metaphysics*, uses language so strange and uncouth as that 'we are conscious of the inkstand' we see; nay, he teaches that a sensation is a state of mind and equally a state of matter! (*Reid*, pp. 884, 881.) The result is, as a masterly transatlantic critic has put it, that as regards visual perception, 'a common-sense man, who was no metaphysician, would get about as near the thought as he ever could, from being told that the mind is spread out behind the eye, and has a feeling just the shape, and size, and colour of the picture on the retina.' Let it be further and particularly noted that 'we do not really see either the external object or even the image on the retina,' (*Reid*, p. 60,) but that we have a 'bunch of feelings there just the shape of the image.' This is in effect what Hamilton puts into scientific and scholastic phrase when he says, 'The image on the retina is only to be regarded as the complement of those points, or of that sensitive surface, on which the rays impinge, and with which they enter into relation. The total object of visual perception is thus neither the rays in

themselves, nor the organ in itself, but the rays and the living organ in reciprocity; 'understanding by the living organ, 'not merely the retina, but the whole tract of living fibre pertaining to the sense.' (*Reid*, p. 60.) So far as the external object is concerned, let us add, that, according to the master of Natural Realism, the total impression left upon the mind by the perception itself, as taken pure and simple, is that something extended is present, placed we know not where, related to we know not what. Its meaning, its distance, its solidity, its proportions and relations, all that makes it an object of intelligent knowledge, all that in our view constitutes it a separate thing, we learn after the first act of simple perception. These are our 'acquired perceptions.' Such is Sir W. Hamilton's account of what is fundamental in visual perception. This is the scientific centre, the essential *differentia* of the Hamiltonian doctrine of Natural Realism, which was to be regarded as the articulate exposition of the 'philosophy of common sense.'

Those who have studied Hamilton's philosophy closely will not question the accuracy of the foregoing statement, however much it may astonish others. We adduce it here as a fair set-off against the corresponding absurdity of the Neo-Platonic School. Natural and Transcendental Realism here, at least, approach each other. The Alexandrians identified Thought and Being; Hamilton went very far towards identifying Mind and Matter; at least he makes mind to be extended, and sensation to be a property no less of matter than of mind. We will not insist on the fact that Hamilton has never attempted to explain how, in his theory, the object whose image is inverted on the retina should be seen by us right side up. We will only remark that extremes meet, not only in the parallelism we have shown between Natural Realism and the transcendental Realism of Alexandria; but in the coincidence, at this point, of Hamilton's philosophy with that of Spinoza, who held that extension was but visible thought.

The sketch which we have now given of the ancient philosophic Realism, imperfect as it is, will, we doubt not, be welcome to some general readers, and especially to some theological students, as affording a clue to the meaning of many current philosophical phrases, and as furnishing an introduction to the study of middle-age controversies. In Ullmann's admirable volume on the *Reformers before the Reformation*, will be found some interesting and curious matter relating to the controversies between the Realists and the Nominalists in the age preceding the Reformation. We beg to refer our readers in particular to pp. 299-308 in his second volume, where he is relating John

Wessel's career at the University of Paris. It will be seen from those pages how impossible it is to understand the struggles and progress of the European mind in those formative ages which prepared the way for the birth of modern thought, to discover and identify the springs of the intellectual and spiritual life out of which the Reformation arose, or, in a word, to read intelligently middle-age history under any of its aspects, without an insight into the questions at issue between Realists and Nominalists. The histories of Wycliffe, of John Wessel, 'the Light of the World,' of Reuchlin, are all dark without this. Our limits, however, will not permit us to attempt any outline of this controversy. In general we may observe that the Platonic ideology under Aristotelian forms of speech, and as systematized by the Aristotelian logic, prevailed very widely during the ages of scholasticism, though not without exciting, from time to time, the strenuous opposition of some of the acutest and profoundest thinkers of those ages. These latter were generally classed as Nominalists, though some of them, perhaps the best of them, preferred to be called Aristotelian Realists.

We do not think that we can better convey a just idea as to the amount of truth which lay under the Realistic hypothesis than by quoting the following admirable passage from Dr. M'Cosh's best work, the volume on *Typical Forms and Special Ends in Creation*. He says much the same things in his latest work, but not so well, nor are they presented in so compact a form.

'There was a truth shadowed forth by the ancient Pythagorean doctrine of numbers, and the music of the spheres; God's works have a numerical order, and are formed, as was fabled of ancient Thebes, by the power of harmony. Plato bodied forth a great truth in his Eternal Ideas, which had been in or before the Divine Mind from all eternity, and to which, as patterns, all things in heaven and earth are conformed. Aristotle saw that there was not a little mysticism in these lofty speculations of his master, and so rejected some of his views, but retained the grand central truth, under the nomenclature of Forms, which are as necessary as matter to the construction of the universe. Plato is in the right, too, when he represented temporal things, which are ephemeral, as being constituted after eternal models. Herein, too, Plato was further right when he talked of these ideas being, in a sense, in human intelligence, and requiring only to be called forth. But herein Aristotle was right, and Plato wrong; for (that?) these ideas have not an existence independent of the Divine Mind, or of the individual things in which they are found, and we may come to know them, not by inward cogitation, as the great master taught, but by the induction of particulars, as the equally illustrious pupil affirmed. Even in the scholastic ages, all artificial though the

minds of scholars had become by a too exclusively formal training, there was a profound truth retained by those who set forth the doctrine of universals, genera and species, as having an existence in nature prior to, and in a sense above, the ephemeral existence of individual things; \* for while the individual lily and rose perish, the species abide, and are exhibited in new roses and lilies bursting forth every spring and summer. But these speculations were, after all, one-sided and imperfect till Bacon supplied the complementary truth necessary to the perfection of the others, and, passing far beyond Aristotle, unfolded the very process by which man might certainly discover the laws, and, as he hoped, the "Forms" of nature, which he represents as the final aim of all observation and science.'—*Typical Forms and Special Ends*, pp. 479, 480.

We have already noted that, not only on the continent, especially in Italy, but in this country, Platonism, after the revival of letters, found many and distinguished votaries. Truly does Professor Webb say, in his masterly and classical essay on the *Intellectualism of Locke*, 'The philosophy which superseded scholasticism was essentially Platonic. The tide of speculation which sank in Greece reappeared, like the Alpheus, with the chaff and stubble still floating on its surface.' A school of Platonists, in particular, was founded at Cambridge, some of whom were deeply imbued, others but pleasantly tintured, with Platonic Realism. The names of Smith, More, and Cudworth, will at once recur to our readers. These men, whether more or less Platonic, were all Realists in the best and noblest sense; and Cudworth's *Treatise on Eternal and Immutable Morality* may be regarded as expressing substantially the faith of them all.

Not, indeed, until after the establishment of Bacon's method, and the prevalence of Locke's philosophy, can the reign of Platonistic forms of thought be said to have been fully broken. 'One thing at all events,' again to quote Dr. Webb, 'is certain. If the Platonic dogma was defunct, the language of the dogma survived. If the philosophers had abandoned their old positions, they had left their camp fires burning on the heights.' In particular, although Descartes was no Platonist, yet the old conviction and tendency which lay at the root of the Platonic Realism were strong in him. 'Whatever,' so in effect he says, 'I am distinctly conscious of, I must be certain of; all the ideas which I find in my consciousness, as distinctly conceived, must be true.' Again, to quote his very words, (and the passage is that in which the word *idea* is defined in that general latitude of meaning which it has since retained,) 'By the word *idea*,' he

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\* This was the Scholastic *Realism*. But the *Nominalists* were emphatically right in denying the independent and substantial existence of the archetypal forms.

says, 'I understand all that can be in our thoughts; and I distinguish three sorts of ideas: *adventitious*, like the common idea of the sun; *framed* by the mind, such as that which astronomical reasoning gives of the sun; and *innate*, as the idea of God, mind, body, a triangle, and generally *all those which represent true, immutable, and eternal essences*.'\*

There was, however, in the age before Locke, one great thinker—a Realist, too, metaphysically speaking—in whose philosophy there is to be found no tincture of proper Platonism; although, when called upon to expound theological subjects, he could, for a purpose, imitate the Neo-Platonists in adapting Christian phraseology to the purposes of his own philosophy. We refer to Benedict Spinoza. Spinoza was a Jew, an excommunicated Jew. He inherited no philosophical traditions, and had been trained in no metaphysical school. His intellectual discipline had been only Rabbinical. He had been deeply indoctrinated in the logic and theology of the Jewish schools; but his understanding had revolted from Rabbinism, and he had repudiated Judaism just in time to anticipate the excommunication, which, with all its dread formulæ and doomful symbols, was actually pronounced. The destined Rabbi had acquired the power of patient thought, but was bound by no faith, whether religious or philosophical, and was addicted to the tenets and discipline of no school. While thus isolated in the world, as only an excommunicated Jew could be isolated, the works of Descartes fell into his hands; and in them he found the germ which, by a process of closely concatenated argument, cast into the form of strict mathematical demonstration, he developed into his own peculiar philosophy—the most thorough-going system of undecorated Pantheism which the world had seen since the days of Democritus—separated, however, specifically, by the widest possible interval from the sensational Pantheism of Democritus. That was naked Materialism; Spinoza's, on the contrary, may be called a spiritualistic Pantheism. Democritus, too, was a sceptic as well as a materialist and sensationalist. Spinoza, on the other hand, notwithstanding his Pantheism, must be classed among metaphysicians as a Realist.

'Spinoza,' says Lewes, 'agreed with Descartes in these three vital positions. I. The basis of all rectitude is consciousness. II. Whatever is clearly perceived in consciousness must therefore be necessarily true; and distinct ideas are true ideas, true expressions of objective existence. III. Consequently metaphysical problems are susceptible of mathematical demonstration.'.....'He holds and expressly teaches

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\* *Lewes's History of Philosophy*, p. 382.



that the *subjective idea* is the actual image or complete expression of the *objective fact*. "Hoc est, id quod in intellectu objective continetur debet necessario in naturâ dari."—*Biographical History of Philosophy*, pp. 397, 411.

Spinoza taught that there was but one substance in the universe; that this one substance has two attributes—extension and thought; that extension is visible thought; that all material objects are but modes of the great attribute of extension, belonging to the One Substance; all thoughts and feelings but modes of the great attribute of Thought, belonging to the same One Substance. This Substance—the one ground of all (material) extension, and of all (spiritual) intelligence and emotion—he called God. 'It is curious to notice Spinoza's anticipation of the Hegelian Christology, which, in the hands of Strauss, Feuerbach, and Bruno Bauer, has made so much noise in the theological world. "I tell you," says Spinoza, in his letter to Oldenburg, "that it is not necessary for your salvation that you should believe in Christ according to the flesh; but of that Eternal Son of God, i. e., *Eternal Wisdom of God*, which is manifested in all things, but mostly in the *human mind*, and *most of all in Jesus Christ*, a very different conception must be formed."' These words show in what way Spinoza had turned his Rabbinic culture to account. They remind one of Philo and the Alexandrian Judaic school; they smack somewhat of the Rabbinic commentaries on the Proverbs of Solomon.

We have spoken of his philosophy as a Pantheistic Realism. This is its genuine description as a metaphysical system. So far, however, as regards the deepest revelations of man's personal consciousness, and the vital principles and distinctions which constitute the basis of morals, Spinozism, like every form of Pantheism, strikes at the root of all reality and of all virtue. 'If it does not contradict itself, it avoids doing so only by contradicting the testimony of consciousness, and thus destroying the evidence of all truth, its own (if it were true) included. The deductions of this philosophy contradict the very intuitions from which they arose, and on which their whole significance depends.'

Looked at within itself, Spinozism has often been regarded as 'nothing less than a demonstration.' Indeed, many speak of it as logically perfect throughout, from its first definition to its ultimate conclusion. This, however, is not the judgment of Professor Mansel, who, in a valuable Inaugural Lecture entitled 'Psychology the Test of Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy,' has the following remarks, which, even though they may be no less applicable to certain pretended arguments which, in his Bampton Lectures, he has set forth as logically unexceptionable,

than to Spinozism, are not on that account the less worthy of regard. 'The apparent force,' he says, 'of pantheistic deductions arises mainly from a juggling combination of words in various relations, used like algebraical signs, without verification by reference to their original meaning; a truth of which modern Pantheists, from Spinoza downwards, have been especially prolific, and the more so, in proportion as they have pretended to a mathematical rigour of demonstration.' In a note, he subjoins 'May I venture so far to shock the prejudices of modern philosophers, and writers about philosophy, of the present day, as to insinuate that their idol, "the holy and repudiated Spinoza," is little better than a word-juggler?' He proceeds to verify this distinct utterance by a skilful and decisive analysis of several of the opening definitions and demonstrations of the *Ethica*, being some of those which by Mr. Lewes had been set forth as concatenated by an irrefragable logical connexion.

Spinoza deserves special note as the father of modern transcendentalism, 'the acknowledged parent,' as Mr. Lewes justly says, 'of a whole nation's philosophy.' Coleridge was very early saturated with the philosophy of Spinoza, and never got altogether beyond its influence.

Spinozism and Schellingism are fundamentally the same philosophy, though widely differing in method and phraseology. What, for instance, can be more intensely Spinozist than this saying of Schelling's? 'Nature is Spirit visible; Spirit is invisible Nature; the absolute Ideal is at the same the absolute Real.' In fact, all the 'great German Realists,' as Mr. Kingsley calls them, from Fichte to Hegel, notwithstanding certain specific diversities, have found the common substratum of their different schemes in the mathematico-metaphysical system of Spinoza. What has been peculiar to each of them has not been their Ontology, but their Logic, and what Hamilton and M'Cosh would call their Gnosiology; not the substance of their philosophic faith as regards Being, but the method of reasoning by which they attempt to escape from the sentence of intellectual impotence in reference to Being and Reality pronounced upon them by the philosophy of Kant, and the scheme of transcendental faculties by which they profess themselves able to overleap the limits of phenomena and penetrate the secrets of Being. In this part of their philosophy they singularly resemble the Neo-Platonists, and part company with the unmythical Jew of Amsterdam.

The richest tribute to the memory of Spinoza was that paid by a celebrated Professor of Theology at Berlin, whom some

have supposed to be the father of the modern evangelical revival in Germany, but who, probably, did less towards preparing the way for that revival than the mere philosopher Jacobi, and certainly was not essentially a Christian believer in any truer sense than that which was defined by Spinoza in his letter to Oldenburg. The 'pious Schleiermacher,' as Mr. Lewes, *not ignorantly*, calls him, exclaims, 'Offer up with me a lock of hair to the manes of the holy but repudiated Spinoza! The great spirit of the world penetrated him; the Infinite was his beginning and his end; the universe his only and eternal love. He was filled with religion and religious feeling; and therefore it is that he stands alone, unapproachable; the master in his art, but elevated above the profane world, without adherents and without even citizenship.'

The middle ages have, not inaptly, been called the 'ages of faith.' Of infidelity, during their course, there was but little; and the little that there was, was subtilly and elaborately disguised as faith. But modern freedom of thought soon issued, here and there, in unbelief. Spinoza's infidelity we may leave out of account, as he was educated not in Christianity, but in Judaism. But Lord Herbert of Cherbury and 'the philosopher of Malmesbury,' as some call him, were early, perhaps the earliest, types of two opposite classes of modern unbelievers.

Lord Herbert was a Realist and a Rationalist; a Deistical philosopher, with a decided leaning towards Platonism; he believed in Divine government, in virtue, in morals. In particular he was a distinguished expositor and upholder of the hypothesis of innate ideas. He says of his 'innate principles' that they are 'truths which everywhere prevail, and are not confined within the territories of any particular religion; truths which descend from heaven and are written in the mind itself, and which are in no way dependent on tradition, whether written or unwritten.' (*Non uniuscujusvis Religionis confinio arcantur quæ ubique vigent veritates. Sunt enim in ipsâ mente cælitus descriptæ, nullisque traditionibus, sive scriptis, sive non scriptis, obnoxie.*) He speaks of them, moreover, as 'our catholic truths, which are written in the inner court of the soul as the indubitable sayings of God.' And he assigns to them the marks of *priority, independence, universality, certainty, and necessity*. These are his 'cognitions of the Reason,' as we might say more Platonically, his 'intuitions of the Reason,' as modern philosophers might phrase it. He enumerates them as follows: '1. That there is some supreme *Numen* or Divinity. 2. That that Divinity ought to be worshipped. 3. That virtue joined with piety is the best worship of God. 4. That it is our

duty to repent of our sins. 5. The certainty of reward or punishment in a future life.' These principles Locke examines, as respects the question of their being *innate*, in the third chapter of the first book of his *Essay*. They constituted Lord Herbert's summary of *natural religion*. His may be considered the type of the *high-caste* infidelity of the eighteenth century, rational Deism, or Deistical Rationalism.

Hobbes was a sagacious, hard-headed, irreverent unbeliever, of the Democritean spirit,—an atheistic sceptic; he would know nothing but sensations; he disbelieved in 'eternal and immutable morality;' he regarded all religion as but timid superstition; he favoured absolutism in political government, consistently enough, since in his view liberty at best was but a convenience, and individual responsibility was but a figment, springing from 'the association of ideas.' Hobbes, in England, though in another way, stands forth, along with Spinoza on the Continent, as a solitary and striking exception to the general fashion of philosophizing in Europe.\*

But the fashion of philosophizing was, like everything else, destined to yield to the spirit of modern inquiry. Hobbes, whose philosophy, as we have just seen, offered the first rude shock of antagonism to the received methods of philosophical speculation, was a friend and disciple of Bacon; and although in his own philosophy he wandered from the maxims of his master and distorted his principles, yet he was so far at least true to the spirit of the inductive method, that, forsaking the *terra incognita* of Ontology, he endeavoured to investigate the facts of Psychology. From the time of Bacon it was inevitable that Ontology should, before long, be displaced by an inductive Psychology—as the necessary preliminary to a Science of Being, if such a science were possible. Bacon is, in fact, the great anti-transcendentalist. The principle of the inductive philosophy, once enounced, could not fail to be applied to metaphysical science. Bacon's philosophy was the long waited-for supplement to that of Aristotle; the Chancellor of the first Stuart of England completed the work which had been begun by the tutor of Alexander. From his time forth it was decided that the 'high *priori* road' must be abandoned in metaphysics no less than in natural philosophy. Nevertheless the old methods lingered on in England till the time of Locke, in Germany till the coming of Kant.

Leibnitz, although the younger contemporary of Locke, may be

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\* The learned Gassendi, however, in France developed a metaphysical system nearly akin to that of Hobbes.

viewed as in part the representative of the elder school of thinking of which the Englishman's famous *Essay* was to make an end. He was hardly an original thinker in metaphysics, any farther than his *Monads* and his *Pre-established Harmony*, mere baseless hypotheses, may entitle him to be so regarded. But he was an omnivorous scholar, and a universal critic; and accordingly he criticized Locke. Undoubtedly he in part mistook the philosopher's meaning, for which he may well be forgiven. In reality, upon the full consideration of the question, and a careful review and adjustment of his own opinions, it would appear that the conclusions at which he arrived were not materially different from the views of Locke, justly interpreted. But no doubt he expressed a general truth, pointing to the distinctive mental habits and sympathies of himself and the English philosopher respectively, when, in his *Nouveaux Essais*, he said that Locke's views 'had greater affinity with those of Aristotle, and his own with those of Plato.'

With Locke, a truer Baconian than Hobbes, the new era in metaphysical philosophy may be said to have fairly commenced. He appeared as the opponent of 'innate ideas.' Having undertaken some inquiries within the region of Ontology, and finding himself very soon barred from progress in that direction, it occurred to him that it would be well to inquire into the nature of the powers of the mind, and the extent of its capacity, before attempting to take cognizance of subjects which might prove to have no relation to those powers, and to be beyond that capacity. Hence he reduced Metaphysics to Psychology.

The fact that his famous *Essay* began in some sort as a polemic against innate ideas, and more or less retained that character throughout, has doubtless exposed it to the charge of being but a partially-developed system. In the general aspect which it presents, it must be admitted to be one-sided. Lord Herbert, as we have seen, taught—and this was the view which prevailed extensively before the time of Locke, which was traditional in Locke's own University, and which was current in many polite circles—that there were a number of 'ideas,' a number of propositions, in fact, which lay latent perhaps for a while, but yet completely written out, in the human mind, and which, the proper occasion being given for their suggestion, flashed forth to view, distinct in their integrity, and perfect in form. Against any such notion as this, Locke maintained that 'sensation and reflection' (understanding by *reflection* our internal self-consciousness), afforded the entire materials of our knowledge, and that by abstracting, compounding, and comparing, the ideas derived from these sources, the understanding

was led, step by step, to the perception of relations and the formation of propositions more and more removed from the primary revelations of consciousness,—from mere sensation, emotion, or memory,—into the region of intellectual and moral science. But what Locke failed to do, was to analyse distinctly and completely the process by which the intellect abstracts, compounds, and compares, and to bring out to view the native powers which it exercises in the process. We are told of ‘suggestions’ ‘furnished to the understanding on the data of sensation or reflection,’ but no attempt is made to ascertain the *law of suggestion*. We even read of intellectual ‘intuitions,’ but are left in the dark as to the source and nature of these intuitions. We learn, in general, that the understanding gets at its universal propositions, and is helped to its intuitive truths, by means of the senses and the internal consciousness; but by what steps, and in virtue of what intrinsic forces of its own, it attains to these results, we do not learn. It would not be difficult to reduce Locke’s own system to sensationalism, by using formulæ similar to those which he employs in regard to sensation and reflection. The ideas of ‘reflection,’ that is, of internal self-consciousness, it might be crudely and loosely said, are all ‘furnished’ or ‘suggested’ to us, in the first instance, through our *sensations*. As he declares that our intellectual ideas, in the sense already indicated, ‘derive their original from sensation and reflection, so they, and our primary ‘ideas of reflection,’ likewise, might be said to derive their ‘original’ from our sensations. ‘The Origin of Ideas, as understood by Locke,’ says Professor Webb, ‘refers exclusively to the *chronological conditions* of the development of thought, and is, therefore, consistently centred in Sensation and Reflection—the two modifications of human experience.’ But, not failing to note that ‘in addition to the data of Sensation and Reflection, there is a class of ideas which, in the opinion of a large school of philosophers, owes its existence to the generative force of the understanding, and is spontaneously developed from within,’ he contends that Locke very distinctly recognises, and indeed throughout takes for granted, the fact that the mind has this power. That this was the case we think the author of *The Intellectualism of Locke* has most ably proved. But yet, we have to ask, if, in Locke’s characteristic formula or fundamental principle, the reference is only to the Chronological Conditions of the development of thought, why he did not reduce the origin to sensation only, since reflection cannot be called into action except on the supposition of an antecedent sensation? Or again, if reflection is admitted, in addition to



sensation, as a source or 'original' of ideas, why not the natural powers of the Reason and Imagination, also, as they come successively into play?—why not the original suggestions or intuitions of the mind as well as its sensations and emotions? As a matter of fact, it has been most luminously shown by Hamilton and Mansel, that in sense-perception the intuitive judgment of the intellect, no less than the sensational consciousness, plays a part,—that every act of perception is a complex act of the sensitive and intellectual unity, which we designate mind or soul.\*

It cannot be denied, furthermore, that as regards conscience and the ground of morals, Locke is seriously defective. He appears to resolve Conscience into Judgment, to make it merely an intellectual faculty or function, with which, by the association of ideas, a certain class of feelings is ever connected. This error, however, is not more grave than that of Mackintosh,—nay, of Cudworth and of Clarke—on the same point, and certainly does not prove Locke to be a sensualist, or, to use a word of less offensive sound, if less exactly derived, a sensationalist. Correspondently with his defective views as to Conscience, Locke, as his accomplished apologist does not fail to point out, was seriously—most seriously—in error respecting the ground of moral obligation. He seems to have inclined to the doctrine of Eudæmonism—the doctrine with which the name of Paley has been associated—and he failed to recognise the supreme authority of the Conscience, as the Voice of Duty, over the determinations of the Will. 'The sole obligation which he conceded to Morality is the obligation to consult for one's own individual happiness. The desire of Happiness was the sole principle of Action which he recognised.'†

These are real faults in Locke's system,—the first as regards its logical statement and consistent development; the latter as regards the substance of it. Add to these, the fact that his great work, thought and worked through in the midst of many

\* 'It is the *thought* that distinguishes the objects of *intuition*, as *objects*, by uniting together under one representative notion the manifold phenomena presented by intuition. I *see*, for example, a tree, and I *recognise* it as such. The sight is an act of intuition: but to *know* it as a tree is to embrace it under a general notion, and this is an act of thought. Again, to distinguish the trunk of the tree from the branches, and the branches from the leaves, or even to discern any individual leaf amid the dark foliage and the intervening glimpses of light which surround it, we must constantly call in the aid of notions or conceptions, by which one portion of a confused intuition is marked off and separated from the surrounding phenomena, and thus gathered together as a single object. And this is done by an act of thought operating in combination with intuition.'—*Lecture on the Philosophy of Kant. By Professor Mansel*, pp. 20, 21.

† *Intellectualism of Locke*, p. 151.

distractions, and frequently of ill-health—composed by snatches—‘continued by entreaty’—intermitted many times for months or even for years together—is characterized by an entire disregard of exact definition, of scientific congruity or even steadfast consistency in the use of terms, and of logical method—as he himself confesses, with a fair and persuasive apology, in a note to one of the later editions of his *Essay*—and we shall not wonder that Locke has been very widely misunderstood and misrepresented. He has been branded not only as a utilitarian or Eudæmonist, but as a Sensationalist, and as the father of the modern low-cast materialism in philosophy. The followers of Coleridge have systematically decried him; his own University has learned to sneer at almost its greatest name; Cousin, though not insensible to many of the excellencies of his philosophy, has yet greatly misunderstood him, and wronged him by tracing to him the parentage of the principles which were developed in Condillac’s philosophy; and Sir William Hamilton, always more of a critic than even of a philosopher, more of a polemic than a judge, has only done him less grievous injustice than he has done to the reputation of Brown. He has not, however, wanted potent defenders; Hallam, and Rogers, and Lewes, and, lastly, Professor Webb, have proved themselves equal to the task of sustaining the honour of him whom even yet Britain must esteem as the greatest of her metaphysicians.

Locke was no sensationalist. Mansel justly says that ‘to class Locke, as is frequently done, as the disciple of Hobbes, and the parent of Condillac and the French ideologists, is to suppress or misrepresent at least one half of his theory.’\* He not only believed in ‘reflection’ or ‘internal self-consciousness,’ as a source of ideas co-ordinate with *sensation*; but he recognises the understanding, when put in view of ‘ideas of sensation or reflection,’ as a direct source, by its own proper activity, of new ideas, some suggested by the isolated data of sense, others arising on a comparison of ‘simple ideas,’—new and *à priori* cognitions, which he describes as ‘the creatures or inventions of the understanding.’ He was as little of a sceptic as a sensationalist. He in fact proclaims a doctrine equally antagonistic to sensationalism and scepticism. Here let us be permitted to quote a few lines from *The Intellectualism of Locke*:—

‘In what, then, does Certainty, real Certainty, consist, according to Locke? Doubtless in the Revelations of Sense, as might be expected from “the Sensualism of Locke”—doubtless in the dictates of Experience, as might be expected from “Locke’s Empiricism.” So says

\* *Lecture on the Philosophy of Kant*, p. 8.

Sir William Hamilton. (*Reid*, pp. 207, 294, 465, 784.) But what says Locke? "Sensitive knowledge," says the Sensualist, "reaches no further than the existence of things present to the Senses." (iv., iii., 5.) "Experimental knowledge," says the Empiric, "reaches no farther than the bare instance." (iv., vi., 7.) In what, then, does Certainty, real Certainty, consist? Locke tells us. He tells us that "the certainty and evidence of all our knowledge" depends on the "bright sunshine" of "Intuition." (iv., ii., 1.) He tell us that "the foundation of all knowledge and certainty" is to be found in that "Intuitive Knowledge" which "neither requires nor admits of proof." (iv., vii., 19; iv., xvii., 14.) . . . . . Locke centres the whole originality of his Philosophy in its development of scientific knowledge from Intuition; and Sir William Hamilton represents him as maintaining the thesis that all our knowledge is an educt from experience! Well might Locke exclaim to Stillingfleet—"Truly, my Lord, my book hath most unlucky stars."—*Intellectualism of Locke*, pp. 122-3.

He believed in Substance and Real Existence. His doctrine as to this point is summed up in the proposition that 'we have an Intuitive Knowledge of our own Existence, a Demonstrative Knowledge of the Existence of God, and of everything else a Sensitive knowledge, which extends not beyond the objects present to the senses.' (iv., iii., 21.) Here is Realism quite as decisive, to say the least, as that of Hamilton or Mansel. As regards matter, his doctrine is substantially the same with that of Reid; for Reid's illusion that Locke and nearly all philosophers before himself believed in the existence of representative ideas of sensible objects, as separate entities, may be summarily dismissed from view. 'All sensible qualities,' says Locke, 'carry with them a supposition of a Substratum to exist in.' (ii., xxiii., Note B.) An External Reality, he says, is the natural *Suggestion* of the Understanding; (ii., vii., 7;) and 'the confidence that our faculties do not herein deceive us is the greatest assurance we are capable of concerning the existence of material things.' (iv., xi., 3.)\*

And even as regards Morality, though he did not admit the existence of an intuitive Moral Sense, yet (inconsistently it may be) he did maintain the existence of external and immutable moral distinctions, and the possibility of a determinate moral science.

He, in fact, and not Reid, should be regarded as the father of the natural, or anti-transcendental, Realism, of modern times. True, he was an Inferential Realist, what Hamilton calls an 'Hypothetical Realist, or a 'Cosmothetic Idealist;' but so in fact

\* *Intellectualism of Locke*, p. 31.

was Reid. Hamilton's elaborate and indigestible system of 'natural Realism' never entered into the conception of plain Dr. Reid, nor anything in the least like it; and after all, so far as it is intelligible, it comes to the same thing as Inferential Realism, it is not to be distinguished from 'Cosmothetic Idealism.'

Perhaps, on the whole, the fairest judgment which has been hitherto pronounced on Locke is that which is contained in Dr. M'Cosh's volume on the *Intuitions of the Mind*, pp. 326-328, 332-334, which we had transcribed for quotation, but are constrained by the necessary limitation of our space to omit.

The influence of Locke upon the metaphysicians who came after him can hardly be over-estimated. Voltaire hailed the polemic against innate ideas as auxiliary to his own assaults against all realistic principles and traditional faiths—'pronounced Locke to be the Hercules of Metaphysics,' and made the austere English philosopher the fashionable favourite 'in the salons of Paris and the gardens of Versailles.' Condillac, seizing upon the sensational element in Locke, to the exclusion of the intellectual, 'enunciated the system of transformed sensations, (*penser c'est sentir*), and presented it to the world as a development of the Philosophy of Locke.' For seventy years this spurious offspring of Locke's ideology ruled the realm of Philosophy in France without a rival.

In England Berkeley, accepting, in general, Locke's principles as to the origin of our ideas, proposed to extract an obscure and perplexing element from the received ideology, to simplify metaphysical philosophy, by merely denying the existence of that 'occult substratum' of our perceptions which philosophers represent to be the real, though in itself incognisable, matter with which our senses bring us into relation. He admitted the reality of our sensations as existences, as 'things' presented to us from without, and independent of our will; but he denied that there was any matter behind them. 'And,' he says, 'in doing this there is no damage done to mankind, who, I dare say, will never miss it.' He referred the great system of sensible ideas, the universe, as he conceived it, directly to God, as its Author and Sustainer. This was his 'Theological Idealism,' which, however, must be regarded as, on his hypothesis, the simplest and purest Realism. But his system, in fact, took effect in a direction precisely the opposite to that which he could have desired. He had thought to simplify philosophy, to relieve faith, and to disarm infidelity of some of its readiest weapons. Hume, on the contrary, borrowed from Berkeley's Idealism the hint of his own scepticism, or, as it has been properly called, Nihilism. Berkeley had dissolved material sub-

stance, leaving, instead of it, a system of ideas presented to our consciousness. Hume proposed to drop from underneath our consciousness and subjective ideas the spiritual substance, the personality, which sustained them. Berkeley having emptied the outward universe of matter, Hume would, by the spell of his philosophy, expel mind from the world of thought and feeling, and resolve all the phenomena of consciousness into a mere phantasmagoria of 'ideas and impressions.' The sight of this conjuror's feat played by Hume, professing to call Berkeley his master, affrighted one stout Berkeleian so thoroughly, that he at once abandoned 'idealism' for 'common sense,' and became, so his great commentator assures us, the founder of 'natural Realism.' Nevertheless let us here note this great distinction between the Idealism of Berkeley and the Nihilism of Hume. Berkeley gave to his ideal world a basis and a unity in the Mind and Will of the Creator; whereas Hume left man with a consciousness and with ideas, but without any 'inner man' to be conscious of his consciousness or to give unity to his ideas. Berkeley's was not a contradictory or inconceivable scheme; Hume's was.

Neither is it just or philosophical to represent, as many have done, Hume's scepticism as a legitimate consequence from Locke's theory of ideas. Locke throughout implies, in many places distinctly asserts, the independent and original power of the mind, the intellect, in dealing with the materials brought before its view by Sensation and Reflection; Hume systematically ignores this power. Locke recognised the Understanding as a proper and direct source of 'ideas;' Hume 'dogmatically restricts the Materials of Knowledge to the Ideas furnished by 'Outward and Inward Sentiment.'

'The Intellectualist concedes to the Understanding not only the function of "combining" the isolated data of Experience, but the still higher function of "comparing" its original Ideas and developing a new class of Ideas on occasion of the comparison:—the Sceptic dogmatically maintains that "the creative power of the mind amounts to no more than the faculty of compounding, transposing, augmenting, or diminishing the materials afforded us by the Senses and Experience." The Intellectualist comprehends under our "Intuitive knowledge," not merely the Mathematical Relations of Quantity and Numbers, but the Metaphysical Relations of Subject and Causation, together with the Moral Relations of Right and Wrong:—the Sceptic dogmatically restricts all Intuitive knowledge to the domain of Mathematics.'—*Intellectualism*, &c., pp. 162-3.

In particular, Hume argues as if Locke had classed the idea of Causal Power among the simple Ideas of *Sense*; whereas,

according to his nomenclature, it was a Simple Idea of Relation, — 'Complex,' as opposed to the Simple Ideas of Sense, because an Idea of Relation, arising on an act of comparison; yet 'Simple,' because in itself *Incomposite*. And, as regards the Principle of Causality, Locke, in contrariety to Hume, takes the same ground as Reid and Kant. He regards it as 'a Principle of Common Reason,—as a portion of our "Intuitive Knowledge"—as a proposition, therefore, which neither requires nor admits of proof.'\*

Dr. Webb's conclusion is as follows:—

'Hume, therefore, it appears was no legitimate Sceptic. His Nihilism was the illusion of an Intellect that denied itself. He was the Dogmatist of Doubt. But whatever the character of his Scepticism, whether Sceptical or Dogmatic, whether Relative or Absolute, its effect upon the development of the Philosophy of Europe is beyond denial or dispute. Hume's philosophy was the sowing of dragon's teeth in the field of modern speculation; his theory of Causation was the rock of Cadmus, the throwing of which was the signal of mutual war to the host of Metaphysicians that sprang from the ground, like the warriors in the Grecian legend. It was the Scepticism of Hume that roused the indignant common-sense of Reid; it was the scepticism of Hume which roused into action the Speculative Reason of Kant.'—*Ibid.*, pp. 166-7.

Kant's psychology was designed to correct and counteract the Scepticism of Hume, and to correct and complete the system of Locke. The former ignored the proper force of the intellect in the formation of ideas, and its co-operative energy even in sense perception; the latter recognised the functions of the intellect, to a large if not to the full extent, but made no attempt distinctly to analyse or systematically to unfold its operations. Kant supplied what was wanting in this respect. His analysis, indeed, may not be perfect, nor his exposition unassailable; but no competent judge doubts that his Criticism carried forward psychology by a vast advance, contributed several new chapters of clear and conclusive exposition on subjects which, before his time, had been very partially understood, and constitutes on the whole the greatest and completest metaphysical work which the world has seen. Dr. Webb seems to have proved, no less conclusively than ingeniously, the substantial agreement and vital harmony between the Kantian psychology and that of Locke. He fully admits at the same time that the Criticism of the Teutonic philosopher is as perfect in form and method, as the Essay of the English politician is faulty and confused.

If, however, Kant showed the psychology of Hume to be

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\* *Intellectualism of Locke*, pp. 164-5.



defective—if he demonstrated that the principle of Causality is in no sense the creature of mere ‘custom,’ but a necessary law of thought, and, in general, that philosophy is bound to take equal cognizance of the necessary laws of thought of the Intellect, as of the Intuitions of the Sense—and that even these Intuitions would be to us a vague unrealized dream but for the energy of the co-operative Intellect; yet, as regards the certainty of our seeming knowledge, he leaves us, so far as his *Metaphysics* are concerned, in complete darkness and doubt. He resolves Space and Time into mere Forms of Sensibility and Conditions of Thought. He perplexes us with his Antinomies of the Pure Reason, pairs of contradictory convictions, both members of which, as he affirms, are equally forced upon us by an invincible necessity of believing them. He denies that, beyond the show and seeming of mere phenomena, there is any Knowledge possible for man. His scepticism is in reality yet drearier than that of Hume, because more thoroughly reasoned out, more seemingly demonstrative, because pronounced, with judicial calmness, as the inevitable conclusion of the understanding in reference to every excursion of human thought. ‘On all questions of Ontology, indeed,’ says Dr. Webb, ‘the speculative Scepticism of the Critic of Reason was even more palpable, more all-pervading, than the dim shadow that dogged the footsteps of the Sophister of Sense. The domain of Experience, in fine, was an Enchanted Isle, from which the Understanding in vain attempted to escape, and all beyond was fog-bank and illusion.’ Herein he differed greatly from Locke, who accepted the dictates of Reason as a Natural Revelation; who held that whatever we are compelled by our nature to *think*, we may be said to *know*.

Kant’s ‘Antinomies of the Reason’ have been examined, more or less fully, by Lewes, Hamilton, Mansel, and now by Dr. M’Cosh, with a view to show that in fact there is no direct or necessary contradiction in any case. Dr. M’Cosh’s examination forms part of a valuable supplementary section of his chapter on Ontology, and will repay study.—The philosopher had, however, his own way of escaping, at least in part, from the consequences of his own philosophy.

‘At the close of the Criticism of the Pure Reason,’ says Professor Mansel, in his *Lecture on the Philosophy of Kant*, ‘we find an intimation of perhaps the most strange and startling inconsistency which the whole history of philosophy can furnish,—an inconsistency which was afterwards more fully developed in the author’s practical philosophy. Speculative truths, he tells us, are relative, and based, partly at least, on the laws of our mental constitution; but moral truths are

absolute, and binding in the same form upon every possible intelligence. Hence he endeavours to reconstruct, from a practical point of view, the whole of that fabric of metaphysical philosophy which his previous criticism had denounced as a delusion. The three great ideas of God, Freedom, and Immortality, which speculative philosophy is unable to deal with without involving itself in a web of delusions, are demonstrated beyond a doubt by the aid of practical philosophy.'

Thus, in the eloquent words of Dr. Webb, 'to the eye of Kant the light of the Moral Law not only illumined the Path of Life—it lit up the Abyss of Scepticism. The Moral Argument Kant viewed as bidding defiance to dispute. We *ought*, therefore we *can*—such was the sublime enthymeme with which he demonstrated the Freedom of the Will.' Thus the Sceptic in Metaphysics was a Realist in Morals; and thence derived a Realism which lent certainty to some portion of the region of his Metaphysics.

Some have supposed, indeed it has been commonly said, that Kant, distinguishing between Understanding and Reason, understood by the former the fallible logical Intellect, by the latter the intuitive Reason, the organ by which we immediately approached Reality. This is an entire mistake. As, however, high authorities have given currency to it, we are sure our readers will be obliged to us for setting before them the following correction of so material a misapprehension, from the pen of Professor Mansel.

'Kant's use of the terms Understanding and Reason has been a good deal misunderstood. It is frequently said that he reversed the current nomenclature of philosophy, employing the term Understanding to denote the discursive faculty, which former philosophers had called Reason (*λόγος, διάνοια*), and using Reason to signify the intuitive faculty, previously known as Intellect or Understanding (*νοῦς*). This is incorrect. Reason in Kant, as in most previous writers, denotes a discursive, not an intuitive, faculty, and to it accordingly he refers the process of reasoning by syllogism. But Kant held that the highest truths (*i. e.*, the unconditioned) are not directly apprehended *per se*, but inferred to exist from the consciousness of those subordinate truths which depend upon them. Hence he rightly distinguishes as *Ideas of the Reason*, those ultimate realities which Plato, from a different theory, assigned to the intuitive consciousness. The *νοῦς* of Plato is so far from corresponding to the Reason of Kant, that it has no place in the Kantian system, in which neither Reason nor Understanding has any power of intuition. The use of the term *reason* to denote an intuitive faculty belongs, not to Kant, but to his antagonist Jacobi, who in his later writings (playing on a supposed derivation of *Vernunft* for *Vernehmen*) identifies Reason with what in his earlier writings he had termed Belief, (*Glaube*), and

calls it an organ for perceiving the supersensible, as the eye perceives the invisible. The English expositors of Kant are curiously in error on this point. Coleridge, in his *Aids to Reflection* and Mr. Morell, in his *Philosophy of Religion*, both exhibit the views of Kant's antagonist, apparently under the full conviction that they are those of Kant himself. In the very able translation of the *Republic*, by Messrs. Davies and Vaughan, the authors have been seduced, by the example of Coleridge, into employing the term *reason* as equivalent to the Platonic *νοῦς*,—a rendering likely to lead to serious misapprehension both of Plato and of Kant, to say nothing of the objection that *reason* in this sense never *reasons*.—*Lecture on Kant*, pp. 26, 27.

As regards the distinction in question, as now adopted widely by modern writers, Dr. M'Cosh has some excellent remarks which we regret that our limits will not allow us to transcribe. They exhibit the same character of comprehensiveness and candour which distinguishes Dr. M'Cosh in general as a philosophic critic and thinker.

Kant's seemingly unassailable system, so logically complete, contains in itself the seed of a monstrous growth which was soon to supplant and overshadow it. It was, metaphysically considered, too terribly complete a system of scepticism to be acquiesced in. Indeed, he could not, as we have seen, acquiesce in it himself. Having first built himself up in the fortress of the Speculative Reason, he then hewed his way out by the axe of the Practical Reason. Others were not more likely to endure confinement within his dark stronghold than himself; but his transcendental successors endeavoured to obtain their enlargement by a balloon-ascent—by means of spiritual intuition and high-flying logic. They did not attempt to break down the sceptical defences of his metaphysics; merely to establish a Natural Realism would have been but a poor feat for the countrymen of Leibnitz and Kant. It seemed, too, as if the destructive criticism of the great genius of Königsberg was too finely subtle, too profound, too elaborate, too majestic, for a German to question that. But might not a faculty and method of transcendental science be compatible with the admission of merely phenomenal ignorance and limitation? Might not man get free from the conditions of sense-knowledge and logical science? Could not a philosophy of the unconditioned, out of consciousness, be grafted on the philosophy of the conditioned, as revealed in consciousness? Kant himself gave them the hint from which their transcendentalism was to be developed.

Inconsistently, he had distinguished the Speculative Reason from the Understanding. The former is but the latter under

another name, concerning itself indeed only about the highest class of objects, the Soul, the World, and God, but still about objects only to be conceived and reasoned on by the same faculties as other objects; it is governed by the same laws as the Understanding, representative and not intuitive; and is incapable of transcending the conditioned, or taking hold of truth in itself. To distinguish between the two faculties merely because to one of them was assigned *par excellence*, but not exclusively, a class of objects including but passing beyond the objects with which the other is ordinarily conversant, was manifestly incongruous. If the faculties are to be distinguished, they ought to be different; if the one is the reasoning faculty conversant with things phenomenal, how apt a thought to make the other, to which were assigned as its objects the three great Realities, an intuitive faculty which immediately apprehends these! Grant only this power, and Kantism is corrected and completed. Then, too, the Speculative and the Practical Reason may coalesce. The latter Kant had made not only intuitive, but transcendental, entering within the veil, and reading the tables of the eternal law.\* The Reason of Jacobi, Fichte, and the rest—the former of whom, however, let it be noted, was no high-flying transcendentalist of the egoistic pantheism, but a noble and reasonable Realist, who opposed the scepticism of Kant's philosophy much as Reid opposed that of Hume, only with a higher intellectual reach—was from this time an intuitive transcendental faculty.

What followed in the way of speculation we know, at least in general. Never has the relation of the transcendental philosophy to Kant been better explained, and the general character and scope of that philosophy been more compactly summarized, than in the following words of Mr. Mansel:—

'Kant proved, though he did not accept his own conclusion, that whatever is made known by consciousness must be relative; his successors admitted the conclusion, and consistently attempted to construct a philosophy of the absolute which should be above consciousness. Kant had proved it to be impossible to bring the object within the grasp of the subject; there remained the yet wilder attempt

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\* 'The first of Kant's inconsistencies,' says Mr. Mansel, 'is his exaltation of the Speculative Reason into the position of a distinct faculty, beyond and superior to the Understanding; the second is his elevation of the Practical Reason into a faculty distinct from and superior to the speculative.' In some way or other, nevertheless, and at some stage or other, we must all break away from the mere circle of logical demonstration, and in this sense be, if the Professor pleases, inconsistent, if we are not to be involved in unrelieved and hopeless scepticism. Our practical Reason must from some point take wing and soar above and beyond the Speculative.

to expand the subject to the immensity of the object. And this was attempted in two different ways ;—by Schelling from the side of the presentative faculties ; and by Hegel from that of the representative.\* The former based his philosophy on the fiction of an Intellectual Intuition, emancipated from the conditions of Space and Time ; the latter on that of a Logical Reason, emancipated from the Laws of Thought. To attain the Absolute Subject and Object, thought and being must be identified ; and the human consciousness of the *ego* contemplating the *non-ego*, must be swallowed up in the mystical ecstasy of the Absolute contemplating itself, and existing in so far as it contemplates, yet without consciousness in its contemplation. The pure Intuition of the Absolute, as the point of indifference, in which subject and object are one, [Schellingism,]—the pure conception of the Absolute, as the identity of Being and Not-Being, [Hegelianism,]—are theories which, however opposed in their methods, rest alike on the important and instructive confession, that to grasp the absolute we must transcend consciousness ; that to attain to a knowledge of God as He is, man must himself be God.'—*Lecture on Kant*, pp. 37, 38.

Matter is but a mode of mind ; or rather matter and mind are both modes of the Absolute Being ; the ideal is the true real ; Thought and Being are one : such are the common principles of the transcendental philosophy, the 'German Realism,' which is thus, as we have already remarked, substantially identical with Alexandrian Platonism, and with Spinozism.

As regards the form which these transcendental speculations have assumed, their coincidence with Neo-Platonism is very striking. The 'intellectual intuition' of Schelling corresponds to the 'ecstasy' of the Neo-Platonists. The logic of Hegel nearly resembles that of Proclus. Like the Alexandrian pantheists, the Germans set forth a philosophic Trinity,—the One or the Absolute, the Logos or Reason, and the Soul of the Universe, which is the identity of the Absolute and the Reason. The Hegelian principle of the 'identity of contraries,' and, in particular, of Being and Not-being, is but the reproduction of an Alexandrian extravagance.

But the Germans have gone far beyond the Alexandrians in their appropriation of Christian phrases. They have an impious travesty of all the evangelical doctrines. Not only the Trinity, but the Incarnation, the Atonement, Redemption, and Sanctification, are phrases which they employ in setting forth the doctrines of their blasphemous philosophy.

In a sense they must be called Realists ; but the Realism of Hegel is precisely equivalent in all its results to the scepticism of Hume—dogmatically asserted as an established philosophy.

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\* Fichtism tended to and merged in Schellingism.

It turns life into illusion, the universe into dreams and shadows. All Pantheistic Realism is, in fact, but only contradictory scepticism. Hegel's is but the most outrageous and absurd edition of it.

While the 'great German Realists' have been fulfilling their career on the Continent, until as the result the Teutonic nation is satiated and staggering through the effect of its deep draughts of such philosophy, and ready (let our readers pardon the coarseness of the metaphor for the sake of its truth) to cast the whole off its surfeited stomach, 'Natural Realism' in this country has pursued a humbler and soberer course.

This has been called the Scotch School, and its origin is generally traced to Dr. Reid. Nevertheless we think it certain, and, if it had needed express proof, Dr. Webb has made it evident, that Locke is the true father of Natural Realism, as there can be no doubt that he is the father of modern British Metaphysics, whether Scotch or English. Reid misunderstood, but was mainly indebted to, Locke. Stewart is a more legitimate representative of the Lockean principles and style of thought than Hartley.

On one account, however, the School of Natural Realism has a peculiar claim to be called Scotch. It derived its *special* character as a protest against Scepticism from the teachings of Scottish masters, who entered the lists against the master of sceptical philosophy, himself a Scotchman. Reid and Beattie came forward as the antagonists of Hume. The parties were all Scotch; the philosophy of Locke, for such it was in substance, was presented with a special aspect, that it might set its face against the sophistries of the Scotch sceptic; and, as thus presented, it gained the designation of 'the Scotch philosophy.' It numbers among its chiefs names of no mean note,—Reid, Campbell, Stewart, and lastly, far the greatest of all, Sir W. Hamilton. Brown was counted a heretic from the true faith of his school—at least Hamilton endeavoured to convict him as such. Probably it may come to be confessed that he was not much more heretical than Hamilton himself.

We presume that the leading principles of the school of Natural Realism, call it English or Scotch, are these. First, that man's fundamental and necessary beliefs are true, and may be taken as *knowledge*. Thus, to use Hamilton's words, already quoted, this school 'found knowledge on belief, and the objective certainty of science on the subjective necessity of believing;' or, to use Professor Webb's words in regard to Locke's principles of certainty, it maintains that 'we may be said to know whatever we are necessitated to believe.' Secondly, and as a consequence of the former, that there is an essential disparity



between mind and matter, and that both are equally real and mutually distinct existences. Thirdly, as a further consequence, that each man exists separately in his own personality, that he is a voluntary and responsible agent, and that the moral distinctions between right and wrong, good and evil, are real and essential. Philosophers who agree in these principles are Natural Realists, whatever may be their minor differences. They may differ in regard to the precise definition, and the origin or genesis of the beliefs;—they may not be agreed, for instance, as to the nature and laws of moral freedom, or as to the genesis of our belief in causation or in the infinity of space;—but if they hold that there are such necessary beliefs, that such beliefs are certainly true, and that they include, at least, the points which have been specified, they must be classed as Natural Realists. As such, they maintain that these beliefs belong to the universal consciousness of man, and may, on reflection, be recognised as included in the convictions of all men. These Natural Realists deny the possibility of transcendental knowledge, of any knowledge which transcends consciousness. On every point which has been particularized, the Natural Realists are in direct antagonism to the ‘German’ or transcendental ‘Realists.’ The difference of aspect between Locke and the Scottish school, as to these particulars, is that Locke, assuming these principles to be intuitively certain, denied that they were in the mind as ‘innate ideas;’ while the Scottish school, admitting that they are not in the mind as ‘innate ideas,’ maintain, against Hume, that they are not the creatures of ‘custom,’ but, as *laws* waiting for development, are *native* to the mind, and inwrought in its constitution. We should add that the Scottish philosophers all, or nearly all, admit, that analysis may be necessary to ascertain what the law of belief is, in its primary simplicity, as really fundamental to the mind.

We have described the general principles which constitute the bond of agreement between the Natural Realists. But it must not be concealed that the specific diversities are many and perplexing. Reid’s doctrine of perception, in particular, is confessed by Sir W. Hamilton to be vacillating and obscure; and after all that the great expositor of Reid has done, it remains doubtful whether Brown was not right in his interpretation of Reid, and whether the doctrine of the latter was any other than that of Locke, rightly understood. Hamilton, indeed, was resolved to make it something different, resolved to vindicate for his countryman an originality of view, or at any rate a distinct and decided individuality, as compared with Locke and the other

philosophers of his time. He therefore contends that Reid's doctrine was that we have an immediate perception, and so a direct knowledge, of matter, although he admits that he has expounded his doctrine clumsily, obscurely, imperfectly, and with much vacillation. How Sir William himself has sped in attempting to give an articulate, precise, and scientific exposition of the theory of direct perception, we have already seen. In our view, his theory is decidedly more open to objection than that of Brown. But waiving that question, we wish to point out that Hamilton's theory in reality comes to the same thing as that Cosmothetic Idealism of Brown on which he has accumulated such ponderous charges of absurdity. Hamilton professes to show us how we have a direct perception of *extension*, mere extension, extension pure and simple, extension as equally a sensation of mind and an attribute of matter. Now suppose we admit that we have attained to this; suppose we leave out of account that such a perception as this, on Hamilton's own showing, by no means furnishes us with any *image* of the external object, but only brings our mind into a state identical with one of the attributes (extension) of that object; as Sir W. Hamilton would say, 'pretermittin'g' all this, we ask, what nearer are we, by the perception of extension, to any *knowledge* of the *object itself*, the *substance*, of which extension is an *attribute*? Yet on Hamilton's own theory, and according to the most fundamental principle of the Scottish school, it is that *substance* which *is* the matter of the outer world. After all, then, we do not *know* the *outer world*; we only believe in it. We do not know it, that is to say, any otherwise, according to Hamilton's theory, than according to the philosophy of Locke or of Brown. We only *know* it, inasmuch as we are necessitated to *believe in it*. We are in this sense 'hypothetical realists,' as he brands Brown for being; we are 'cosmothetic idealists,' as Brown was: for what we know, though it may be an *attribute* of body, is *not body*, while it *is* a sensation or idea of the mind.

All indeed that we have now been arguing is in a number of passages fully conceded by Sir W. Hamilton. 'All that we know,' he says in plainest terms, 'is but phenomenal, phenomenal of the unknown.' But, then, he holds at the same time that we have 'immediate knowledge' of matter, that by one and the same indivisible act we become 'conscious both of self and not-self,—that we are conscious of knowing each of them, not mediately, in something else, as represented, but immediately, in itself, as existing.' (*Reid*, p. 747). As we have before noted, he contends, in his Lectures on Metaphysics, that, when the inkstand is before his view, he is 'conscious of the

inkstand.' Sir W. Hamilton even reproves certain philosophers (*Discussions*, p. 89, Second Edition) for holding that we have no *knowledge* of matter, but only a *belief* in it; and also declares that he agrees with Reid in holding that 'we have, as we believe we have, an immediate knowledge of the external reality.' (*Ibid.*, p. 94.)

These are Hamilton's inconsistencies; they arise from his endeavour to reconcile his Kantism with his allegiance to Reid. Fundamentally, however, there can be no doubt that he is more of a Kantian than of a 'natural realist' of the Reid school; and hence it is that he who dealt so severely with Brown, as a heretic from the true Scottish faith in philosophy, is now himself coming to be more and more suspected of having departed from the simplicity of the Reidian faith. Dr. M'Cosh's last book is, in fact, partly an attempt to classify and explicate our fundamental faiths, by a fuller induction and stricter analysis than have hitherto been given; and partly a protest against Hamilton's corruption of the true Scottish faith, against his doctrine of the merely relative and phenomenal character of all our knowledge.

Sir W. Hamilton, when he enters into detail as regards his own fundamental principles, and 'officially' explains his views, restricts our *knowledge* to what may be given by the principle of non-contradiction. He allows that we *know* we feel that which we feel, and will that which we will. That is the sum total of the *knowledge* which, in his famous note *A*, he concedes to man. All beyond this he denies to be *knowledge*, and will only allow to be *belief*. But assuredly this is to deny knowledge altogether. Identical propositions do not constitute knowledge. The philosopher, indeed, vindicates our fundamental beliefs, as *beliefs*; he maintains that they must be true, or all is false and hollow, and all knowledge impossible for man. He vehemently contends that they must be presumed true, and that they constitute the ground of all certainty and knowledge. But if so, why does not he boldly and consistently affirm these 'beliefs' to be *known as true*? Consistency demands this. At times he does maintain that we know them. He continually calls them *cognitions*; nay, he would, on their behalf, bring again into use the old word *knowledges*. How strange, then, that here and elsewhere he should contend that we know not these principles, or anything beyond phenomena!

Hamilton did not define and classify what he calls our cognitions. Dr. M'Cosh has endeavoured to do this, and this attempt forms a very valuable part of his work. No philosopher before him has clearly brought out the stages by which an original and

individual intuition passes, first into an articulate but still individual judgment, and then into a universal maxim or principle. Nor has any one before him so clearly or completely classified and enumerated our intuitive convictions, or exhibited in detail their relations to the various sciences which repose on them as their foundations.

Our limits forbid our attempting any criticism of Dr. M'Cosh's volume as a whole, or even to furnish an analysis of its contents. There is much with which we agree, a good deal that we consider doubtful,—some grave points there are on which we must entirely differ from the esteemed writer. In particular, we should be fundamentally at issue with him respecting the idea of the infinite, its genesis and its nature. We agree much more nearly with Locke than with him. In particular we hold the infinite of space to be merely a mathematical infinite of three dimensions; and to have nothing in common with the metaphysical or moral infinite. We think his views as to causation and the principle of causality open to objection, and ourselves incline, on one side, more to Cousin, and, on the other, more to Hamilton. We desiderate a clearer statement of the author's distinction between cognitions and beliefs, and especially of what he understands to be the precise nature of cognition. We must also say that the style of Dr. M'Cosh in this work is, to our thinking, very unlike what that of a metaphysical work should be. It is not only loose and inexact, it is what we must call a rhetorico-metaphysical style. There is, besides, a great deal of repetition, and there is too much of poetical quotation which is not strictly illustrative. Dr. M'Cosh has made a mistake in affecting a popular and sentimental style. The excursions and supplementary chapters, printed in small type, are by far the best written parts of the volume, and the most pleasant to read. The reason is, that they consist of condensed historical deduction or philosophical discussion.

We are sorry to be obliged to make such abatements from our commendation of a really valuable work. It is a much more pleasing duty to say that it contains not a few views and criticisms of great importance; that it surveys, more or less completely, all the ground indicated by its title; that the principles which it discusses are the most vital in modern metaphysics; that the appearance of the volume is pre-eminently seasonable, its plan symmetrical and comprehensive, and its temper admirably, we may say characteristically, candid and catholic. No philosophical student can afford to be ignorant of its contents. Its defects arise, as we imagine, from its having been written too hastily, under the heavy pressure which ordi-

narly lies upon the author. We expect that, in another edition, it will appear, not only in substance, but in style and treatment throughout, worthy of the distinguished philosopher and eloquent writer, whose name is already associated with the 'Method of the Divine Government,' and the 'Typical Forms and Special Ends in Creation.'\*

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\* Besides the Natural Realists there are in this country two well-defined schools of philosophy. There are the English transcendentalists of the Coleridge school, represented, within the Anglican pale, by Maurice, Kingsley, and Llewellyn Davies, and, beyond it, by such men as James Martineau. With the history and characteristics of this school, at least on the one side, the readers of the *London Review* may be presumed to be pretty well acquainted. And there are the 'positivists' of the Comte school, of whom G. H. Lewes and Buckle are among the best known chiefs. These are the 'frères ignorants' of metaphysics. They maintain the utter impossibility of ontologic science. They recognise nothing but phenomena and inductive science. Science, according to them, can only investigate the relations and laws of phenomena; it knows nothing whatever of being, or noumena, not even whether there be any. Necessary beliefs are but beliefs; and may or may not correspond with the actual reality. It would not be polite to call these philosophers atheistic sceptics, yet such they are, at least as philosophers. If, denying the possibility of philosophy, these thinkers accepted the Scriptures as a positive Revelation of spiritual realities, they might be among the best of Christians. But few of them, we fear, do this. There may also be said to be another school, less distinctly defined, and as yet scarcely consolidated—that of Jowett and Williams—the English Bunsenists in theology; in philosophy hovering, as it would seem, between Schleiermacher and Hegel.

## BRIEF LITERARY NOTICES.

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**The Story of my Mission in South-Eastern Africa :** comprising some Account of the European Colonists, with extended Notices of the Kaffir and other native Tribes. Illustrated with a Map and Engravings. By William Shaw, late Wesleyan General Superintendent in that Country. 12mo. London : Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

Here we have a book which is what it professes to be,—the story of a life spent for the most part in the Mission work of the Church. It is not a book of geographical discovery, or science, or ethnology, or philology, or any other ology, but simply a narrative of the origin and progress of a Christian settlement in South-Eastern Africa, which led to the beginning of a Mission to the Kaffir tribes, and the establishment of a complete chain of Mission Stations from Algoa Bay to beyond Port Natal. We have no quarrel with scientific or learned Missionaries ; but we confess that our modern ‘supplements to the Acts of the Apostles’ please us most when they most resemble the primitive missionary register, and show us simply how ‘*the Word of God grew and multiplied.*’ The author avoids the common fault of similar narratives,—that of giving undue prominence to details of hardships, perils, and romantic adventures, which in Africa, as elsewhere, are the exceptional not the normal condition of Mission life. Experienced Missionaries regard these things as matters of course, which must occasionally variegate the otherwise tame monotony of uncivilized life, and against which all prudent provision must be made by the exercise of ordinary forethought, but which scarcely deserve even a passing notice. The high position which Mr. Shaw earned for himself in the Cape Colony, and the beneficial influence which he exercised for nearly forty years on the Eastern frontier over the Kaffir tribes adjoining, give peculiar weight to his testimony, and render his work a most valuable contribution to our missionary literature. If the reader wishes to know what Mission work really is, and with what wisdom it ought to be carried on, he cannot do better than study this ‘Story of my Mission,’ which presents to us the history of a Christian Missionary in zeal and in labours second to none, and yet abounding in all wisdom and prudence, thus manifesting a rare combination of those qualities so desirable to be possessed, and yet so rarely united in the same character. We purpose shortly to direct attention to the affairs of the Cape Colony and the Missions beyond.

*Dramatic Works of William Shakespeare, adapted for Family Reading.* By Thomas Bowdler, Esq. 12mo. R. Griffin and Co.—An elegant reprint of the only edition of our great dramatist fit for family reading.

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—The lives are well selected, and this Dictionary will be a necessary addition to the reference library of those who wish to read the news of the day with an intelligent interest in it.

*Autobiography of the Rev. Dr. Carlyle; containing Memorials of the Men and Events of his Times.* 8vo. W. Blackwood and Sons.

—This volume, interesting in itself, is ably edited by Mr. Burton. Whoever wishes to know how sober and prudent men viewed the passing events of a most important period of our history, will read this autobiography. We cannot say that it equals Boswell's Johnson or Forster's Goldsmith in interest; but it comes next to them, which is no little merit.

*The Imperial Atlas.* 4to. Blackie and Co. London and Glasgow.

—This Atlas consists of one hundred maps, engraved in the first style, and remarkable for their clearness of outline and general distinctness,—a most important quality in maps and charts. Each sheet measures twenty-two inches by fifteen, and the volume when closed is of the imperial quarto size, which experience proves to be one of the most convenient for use and daily consultation. If any one wishes to form a correct judgment of the value of this collection of maps, let him consult Italy, France, the North Circumpolar Regions, Vancouver's Island, Turkestan, Japan, North and South Africa, the United States, with Queensland, New South Wales, and Victoria, in all of which the very latest discoveries and changes have been laid down. The index is very valuable; the price extraordinarily cheap.

*The Progress of Nations; or, The Principles of National Development in their Relation to Statesmanship: a Study in Analytical History.* 8vo. Longman and Co.—A valuable work by a young author, who gives an earnest of future eminence in this branch of literature. Great questions are discussed with an admirable amount of intelligence and sobriety; and though we may not agree with all the conclusions of the writer, we rise from the perusal of the book with a high respect for his talents and attainments. It is with regret that our limits compel us to confine ourselves to this brief notice.

*The Christian Element in Plato and the Platonic Philosophy, unfolded and set forth by Dr. C. Ackerman, Archdeacon of Jena. Translated from the German by S. R. Asbury, B.A. With an Introductory Note by William G. T. Shedd, D.D., Brown Professor in Andover Theological Seminary.* 8vo. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

—This is an excellent digest of the resemblances to Christian teaching which are supposed to exist in Plato, as well as of the points of difference and antagonism; and as such it will be a valuable addition to our theological libraries.

*Sermons chiefly on the Theory of Unbelief. By the late Rev. James Boone, M.A., Christ Church, Oxford, and Incumbent of St. John's, Paddington.* 8vo. Longman and Co.—These discourses are on the formation of belief, on development in religion, with a few others of a more miscellaneous character, and are worthy of the reputation of the esteemed and pious author, who died March 24th, 1859. We recommend especially those on the formation of belief.

*The Way Home; or, The Gospel in the Parable: An Earthly*

*Story with an Heavenly Meaning.* By the Rev. C. Bullock. *Edinburgh: Strahan.*—A well-meant endeavour to improve a Parable, the primary meaning of which is not caught. We can by no means concur in the author's views of repentance. Repentance is not 'the tear of faith,' but precedes saving faith. There are many sentiments in the book to which we cannot subscribe; yet, we doubt not, its expostulations will do good.

*Critical Annotations, Additional and Supplementary, on the New Testament: Being a Supplemental Volume to the Ninth Edition of the 'Greek Testament, with English Notes.'* By the Rev. S. T. Bloomfield, D.D. *London: Longmans.* 1860.—A small volume of universal value to all biblical critics. We wish we could give such an extended notice of it as its merits deserve, as the fruit of immense and painstaking research, singularly condensed and yet available.

*Ter-Centenary of the Scottish Reformation, as Commemorated at Edinburgh, August, 1860. With Introduction by the Rev. James Begg, D.D. Edited by the Rev. J. A. Wylie, D.D.* *Edinburgh: Maclaren.* 1860.—A volume of thrilling interest, worthy of the Commemoration and full of the most valuable historical information. Dr. Wylie has bravely accomplished his difficult task as Editor. The volume ought to be studied by every Protestant.

*Gideon, Son of Joash.* By the Rev. W. Wallace Duncan, M.A. *Edinburgh: Maclaren.* 1860.—The remarkable story of Gideon is here well expanded, and applied to practical life.

*Gems from Christian Writers.* *London: Religious Tract Society.*—And they are gems. But the Editor might have a very narrow vein to work in.

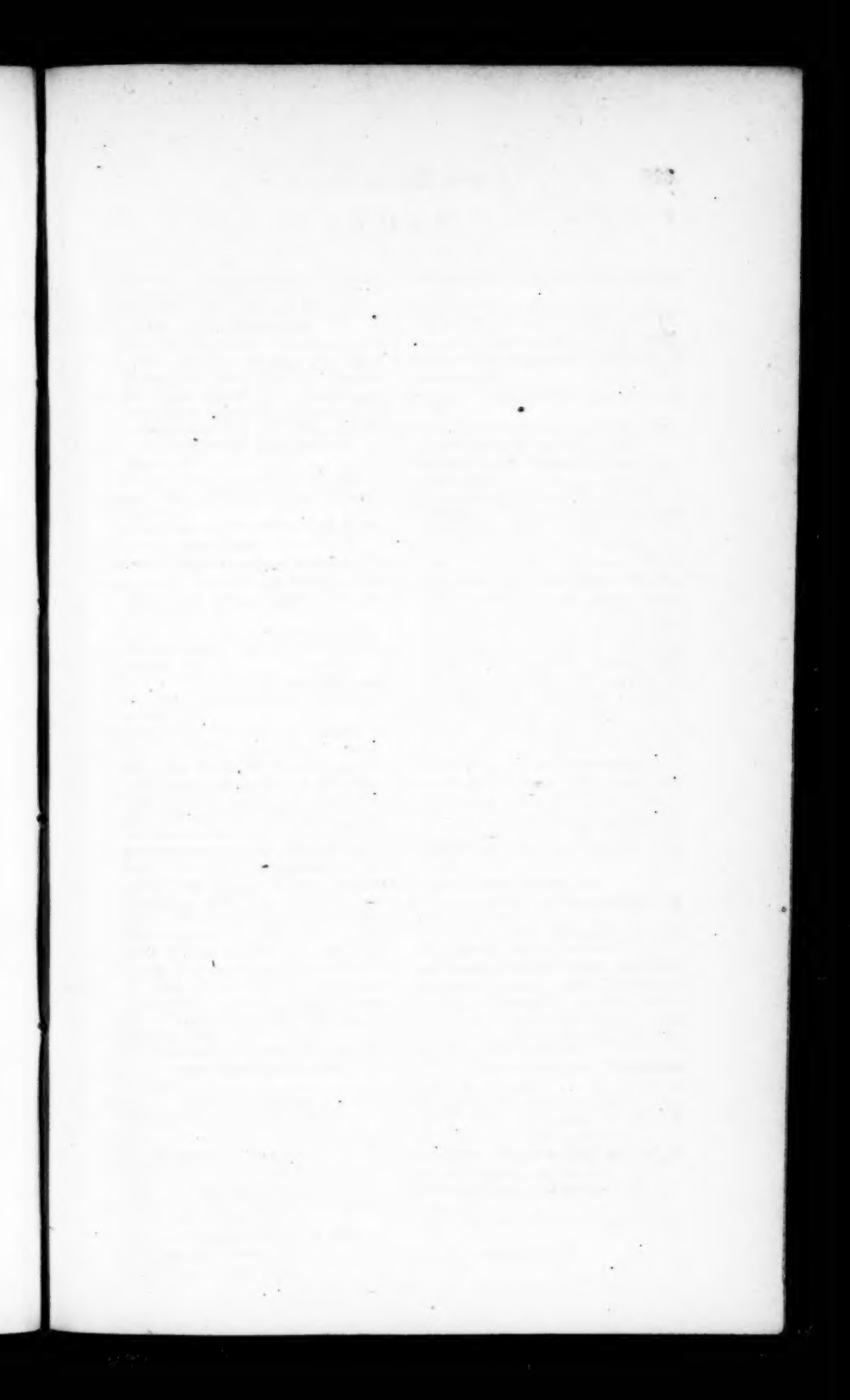
*Regeneration: being Five Discourses.* *London: Religious Tract Society.*—These are good Sermons, intended as a companion volume to the Discourses on the Atonement; but, we apprehend, the doctrine of Regeneration is yet to be redeemed from the obscurity in which it was left at the Reformation. The 'philosophy' of the doctrine is exceedingly simple, if we start from the right point.

*The Laboratory of Chemical Wonders: a Scientific Mélange, intended for the Instruction and Entertainment of Young People.* By G. W. Septimus Piesse. *London: Longmans.* 1860.—A fund of information and amusement. The author would have done well, however, to confine himself to the facts of Chemistry, and not give information in the shape of tales.

*The Leisure Hour.* 1860. *London: Religious Tract Society.*—For nine years the public have been favoured with a volume of Miscellaneous Reading for a Leisure Hour, which is suitable for rich and poor, and men of every degree of intellect and education; novel, spirited, various, and instructive. In every respect the volume for the present year equals its predecessors; and that is ample, but just praise.

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\*.\* The Title and Index to Vol. XV. will be given with No. XXXI.



The first of these is the fact that the county of York is one of the most fertile in the kingdom. It is situated in the heart of the great agricultural district of the north of England, and is surrounded by some of the most fertile soil in the country. The climate is also very favourable for agriculture, and the soil is well adapted for the cultivation of wheat, barley, and other grain crops.

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